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frontispiece

ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER.

Major and Lieut.-Colonel 8th or King's Regiment of Foot, 1777—1793.

Colonel in the British Army, 1793.

Colonel 1st Regiment Dumfries Volunteers, 1796.

D4194m

MISCELLANIES

By AN OFFICER.

ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER.

[*Captain (in N. W. Territory, British Possessions, Canada) of the 8th, or the King's Regiment of Foot, 23d November, 1768; Major, 6th May, 1777; and Lieutenant-Colonel of same, 13th September, 1783, with rank in the British Army as of 10th November, 1782; Colonel in the British Army, 12th October, 1793; Colonel 1st Regiment of Dumfries (Gentlemen) Volunteers 1796.*]

Edited by J. Watts de Peyster, Brev. Maj. Gen., S. N. Y.

1888.

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DUMFRIES:
Printed at the Dumfries and Galloway Courier Office,
By C. MUNRO.

1813.

ADVERTISEMENT.

The Speech to the Lake Indians, which begins this little volume, was (from recollection, the day after it had been spoken) turned into metre at the request *d'une chere compagne de voyage*, for whose amusement in that remote part of the world, several songs, descriptive of the habits of the natives, were likewise composed.

In the Appendix, will be found an explanatory introduction to several letters, addresses, and councils, which were copied from the minutes left at the several posts, for the guidance of future commandants.—The intervening pieces, which have very little claim to poetry, were written on the impulse of the moment, with the view of diverting a few partial friends, and therefore should not have appeared in print (any more than a hundred other *petit jeux d'esprit*, whereof no copies have been retained), had it not been for the repeated solicitations of some of those friends, to whom they are now most respectfully presented, by

THE AUTHOR.

Dumfries, 30th Nov., 1812.

EDITOR'S ADVERTISEMENT.

In presenting to the public this *partial* reproduction of a rare and, in some respects, a valuable book—*partial* because everything immediately personal and devoid of interest to the present and to the future has been omitted—too much gratitude cannot be expressed to the Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, of Hartford, President of the Connecticut Historical Society, who, some years since, loaned his volume of these "Miscellanies," in order to enable a manuscript copy to be made, from which to print, so that the original might not be injured, because it was not known, at the time, that more than two exemplars of the work were in the United States. The other was in hands, whose owner would not allow it to go out of his possession to enable the subscriber, a blood relation of the author, to produce a reprint. Thanks to Mr. Daniel S. Durrie, Librarian of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, the subscriber was placed upon the track of a third copy, and through the spontaneous kindness, unsolicited—a kindness not to be forgotten nor too much emphasized—of Mr. C. W. Butterfield, of Madison, Wisconsin, the subscriber was advised to address Mr. Robert Clarke, of Cincinnati, who, at once, generously placed his own copy at the disposition of the editor. To insure a perfectly correct typographical replicate, Mr. Robert Clarke sent on to New York his own copy, which he had obtained from the last residence of the original author, Dumfries, Scotland; and, judging from concurrent circumstances, from one of the family of Colonel de Peyster's wife, sole heir to his property—the Colonel having had no children. Mr. Robert Clarke had also purchased another copy which he gave to the Ohio Historical and Philosophical Society of Cincinnati, but believes that the volume from which these pages were corrected was the one retained for his own use by the author, and exhibits corrections made by him.

J. WATTS DE PEYSTER,

"Rose Hill," Red-Hood Township, Duchess Co., N. Y.

SPEECH

TO THE

WESTERN INDIANS.

ARGUMENT.

ON the 4th day of May, 1774, the author of this little volume was sent from Quebec, up to the post of Michilimackinack to take the command thereof, with the painful task of superintending the Western tribes, or Lake Indians, consisting of Kickapoos, Pioreas, Piankishaws, Mascoutins, Outagamies, Wyandots, Saukies, Muskakies, Ouyachtenons, Kaskakeas, Michigamies, Minominees, Pattawatamies, Scioux, Ottowas, Chippwas, and others. Over all of whom he soon gained sufficient ascendancy to enable him to conclude a general peace, whereby the Indian fur-trade was greatly extended, as it enabled the traders to penetrate the hunting country in all directions.

On the 27th of June, 1776, the Indians, in the immediate neighborhood of Michilimackinack, received strings of wampum from the Nippisink Indians, through the medium of Monsieur Matavit, the priest at the Lake of the Two Mountains, to inform them that the enemy were in possession of Montreal, and therefore, required their assistance lest the English should be driven quite out of Canada; whereupon the chiefs applied to their father (as they called the commandant of the fort) for his

assistance and advice how to act in so critical a juncture :—when he told them to mind their hunting, until their interference should be required by the commander-in-chief, which only could authorize him to act. In a few days after this he received an express, accompanied with belts of wampum, and a speech from the Six Nations inviting the Michilimackinack Indians to assemble at Connesedaga village. When, on the commandant seeing that canoes arrived with passes signed by the American General Worster, and Doctor Benjamin Franklin, wherein was stipulated that those traders should not afford any succour whatever to his garrison, the Indians, to the number of 500 were hurried off, under the care of British and Canadian officers, with strict injunctions not to commit cruelty, or to take scalps even from the dead. The enemy having been driven away, the Indians came back to *winter* with their families, and in the spring following they were sent down to assist General Burgoine in his expedition across Lake Champlain ; and on their return, were, on the 4th of July, 1779, assembled for the purpose of making a diversion in favour of Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton's expedition against the American General, Clark, in the Illenois County,—upon which occasion the following speech was made to them, at the Indian village of Abercroche, previous to their embarking upon Lake Mitchigan, on their route to St. Joseph's (1.) Which speech (with a few documents) is now, as far as a few copies, allowed by the author to be printed at the importunity of some of his friends who wish to have some insight into the customs and manners of the Lake Indians, and the manner in which they were brought from the interest of the French and Americans, and attached to that of the British, by the author, who had resided among them, and had the controul of them, for the space of eleven years.

The ready and effectual assistance these Indians have given to General Brock, (2) evinces the permanent effect the advice given them so many years ago has had upon their minds.

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1. From whence they returned much dissatisfied with the convention the Lieutenant Governor had made,—surrendering himself and little army to Clark, before they could reach them. 2. General Brock was a subaltern in the 8th or King's Regiment, when it was commanded by the author of this speech, and was a military *élève* of his.

SPEECH TO THE WESTERN INDIANS.

Great Chiefs, convened at my desire
To kindle up this council fire;
Which, with ascending smoke, (1) shall burn
Till you from war (2) once more return,
To lay the axe in earth so deep,
That nothing shall disturb its sleep. (3)

Propitious see bright *Kesis* (4) shine
On every warlike son (5) of mine!
The Lake (6) is smooth, the roads are even,
What more is wanting under heaven.
To show each tribe, (*Fox, Wolf and Bear,*)
The *Monitou* (7) makes all his care.

While thus they smoke t' appear more wise,
And call for *milk* (8) to clear their eyes.
V'Escabias, (9) your chiefs disarm,
Lest they should do each other harm;
Lay by their hatchets, knives and spears,
And clear the dust (10) out of their ears,
That they may hear what I've to say;

1. When the war calumet or pipe is lit and handed round for every one to take a whif, in case the smoke rises erect, it is a good omen—and so *vice versa*. 2. From Fort Chartres, under the care of the British officers, to assist Governor Hamilton, but before they could join him, he had surrendered by convention to the American General Clark, near the Islenois. 3. In time of peace the tomahawk is supposed to sleep in the earth. 4. The sun. 5. The commandant is called "father" by every friendly tribe. 6. Lake Michigan. 7. The great spirit. 8. New England rum which they call mother's milk and drink it to excess when it is dangerous to leave them armed. 9. Aid-de-camps, who disarm their chiefs. 10. When Indians will not listen to your talk they say, their ears are either filled with dust or clay.

Then close them up again with clay,
Or, drive all *bad birds* (1) far away

I know you have been told by Clark, (2)
His riflemen ne'er miss the mark;
In vain you hide behind a tree,
If they your finger's tip can see,—
The instant they have got their aim
Enrolls you on the list of lame.
But, then, my sons, this boaster's rifles,
To those I have in store, are trifles:
If you but make the tree your mark,
The ball will twirl beneath the bark,
'Till it one-half the circle find,
Then out and kill the man behind. (3)

Clark says, with *Louis* in alliance,
He sets your father at defiance.
That he, too, hopes, ere long, to gain
Assistance from the King of Spain,
When he will come unto this place,
And put your *Nossa* (4) to disgrace—
Like Matchiquis, at foot-ball sport, (5)
With arms concealed, surprise his fort;
Compel him, sword in hand, to fall,
Or ship him off for Montreal:
When at the straits, sly *Maskeash* (6)
Will shoot each flying *Sageanash.* (7)
Suppose awhile his threats prove true,
My children! what becomes of you?
Your sons,—your daughters,—and your wives—
Must they be hacked with these big knives? (8)

1. The enemy's emissaries are so called. 2 An American General. 3. The Indians being a very credulous people, it becomes necessary to give the enemy a Roland for their Oliver. 4. Indian name for father, when speaking of the Commandant in Council. 5. Under pretence of playing, he kicked the ball over the fort picquets, rushed in with his band and accomplished his purpose. 6. The straits leading from Lake Sinclair to Lake Huron. 7. Indian name for an Englishman. 8. A name for their American enemies, particularly the Virginians.

Sure you have heard the aged tell,
How Ferdinand and Isabelle
Their empty coffers filled with gold?—
The story makes my blood run cold—
Their war-chiefs hunted down with hounds,
And covered o'er with ghastly wounds
All such as did not dare oppose
The first invasion of their foes?—
Then, will you like the Mexicans,
Await the *Kitchimokomans*; (1)
Or show yourselves more brave and wise,
Ere they are joined by such allies?
Clark, soon repulsed, will ne'er return,
While your war-fire (2) thus clear doth burn.
Exert yourselves, therefore, while you
Are favored by the *Manitou*,
Else smoke will cease to greet the skies,
Sad omens yield each sacrifice!—
In vain shall medicine kettles (3) boil,
They'll not repay the juggler's toil;
Each path would soon be covered o'er
With briars, stones, and human gore,
While troubled waters lash the shore.
Observe the wretched *Kickapoose*; (4)
What have they gained by Lenctot's (5) news?
The *Ottagams*, *Pioreas* and *Sacks*, (6)
Have scarce a blanket to their backs.
Old *Carminees*, *Weenippegoes*, (7)
Want fuzees, powder, ball and clothes,
And skulk in dens, lest old Langlade (8)
Should give their heads the batonade;

1. The Indian name for big-knives. 2. The war-fire burning clear is one of the good omens. 3. The jugglers boil up ingredients as a sacrifice, before the war-party sets out in hopes of a good omen. 4. A nation inhabiting the *Wabash* country. 5 A runagate Frenchman, who used to communicate every favorable event attending the enemy. 6. Three nations inhabiting the ground betwixt La Baye and the Mississippi. The Sacks are by some pronounced Saukies. 7. A sensible old chief, at the head of a refractory tribe. 8. A French officer, who had been instrumental in defeating General Braddock, gained over to the British cause by Colonel De P., which secured all the Western Indians in our [British] interest.

These suck their paws, like Northern bears,
Exposing nothing but their ears,
To hear if *Gautier de Verville* *
Doth crave assistance from *Lafeuille*
Or, if the *Chippawas* of the plains,
Draw near to *Wabashaa's* (1) domains,
While none on earth live more at ease,
Than *Carong's* (2) brave *Menomenies.*

Let *Nonocassee* (3) styled the *Beau,*
Still fear to meet the threatening foe ;
With Petouiwiskam (4) and his squa,
Shove off his boat for Saguina.
To lay neglet lines and set salt snares, (5)
For cat-fish, (6) trout, and timorous hares :
To dry wild meat and *hull* their corn,
Which you will eat when you return.

Such men are fed for warriors' slaves,
Whose sons shall p--s upon their graves.
'Till not one painted (7) stake appear
To tell whose bones lay rotting there.
While o'er each war chief's sacred grave,
The British union flag shall wave ;
And, on its staff, a row of nicks,
Or more descriptive hieroglyphics, (8)
Denote the feats performed by those
Who did not fear to meet their foes.

The French, my sons, are not your friends,
They only mean to serve their ends !
In this alliance lately made,
Their aim is our tobacco trade.

---

* Langlade's companion—they were both appointed captains. 1. The great *Sioux* chief. 2. A very clever fellow, chief of the nation of Minominies, the handsomest man among the Indians. 3. A perfect Thersites and a great fop. 4. The fop's father ; an old fellow in league with the French and Virginians. 5. A thread, dipped in brine, is laid from the trap across their tracks, which they are so fond of licking, that it conducts them to their fate. 6. Cat-fish weigh from 10 to 90 and trout from 10 to 60 lbs. 7. In the manner of a head-stone. 8. Nicks or notches denote the number of times they have been to war and they often carved hieroglyphical characters thereon.

I heard *Gebau* (1) say, 'tis no sin
To sell each pound, one otter-skin.
This priest cares not how dear he sells,
To those he styles poor infidels;
Who can't afford to light a pipe,
Until the *Sackagoming's* (2) ripe;
Sumack,* red wood,† and such stuff,
Too mild, unmixed, to smoke or snuff.

The French, I say, by this convention,
To all this country waive pretension!
See, here, I hold it in my hand,
While *Clark* would have you understand
He only seeks to mount this bench—
To counsel for his friends—the French;
Who're still in hopes, ere long, to check
The British arms,—to storm Quebec,
And seize the key of that great door,
Through which all merchandise must pour;
For, while Britannia rules the main,
No goods can come from France or Spain;
"Be sure this part you well explain." (3)
Shall France, then, send to spoil your lands,
And councils hold with empty hands?
No! Interest bids you all oppose
Those empty handed *Parlevous*.

To Detroit, Linctot bends his way;
I therefore turn you from the *Pey* (4)
To intercept the chevalier. (5)
At Fort St. Joseph's (6) and *O Post*, (7)
Go,—lay in ambush, for his host,

---

1. A profligate trading missionary, who had resided long amongst the Western Indians and made few converts. 2. The bark of the tree of that name, which with * and † the Indians scrape fine and mix with tobaccu, or sometimes smoke it without mixing. 3. Spoken to Mr. Ainse the Indian interpreter. 4. A small lurt on the Islenois river. 5. A nickname. 6. At the head of a river of that name where the Pottawatamies have a fort and a large settlement. 7. Post St. Vincent so called.

While I send round Lake Mitchigan,
To raise the warriors—to a man ;—
Who. on their way to get to you,
Shall take a peep at — at *Eschickagou,* (1)

Eghiltawas (2) smiles at the notion
Of *Kissegouit,* brave *Neotochin.*
Swift Neogad, fierce Scherroschong,
And Glode, the son of Vieux Carong
Those runagates at Milwakie, (3)
Must now *per* force with you agree,
Sly Siggenaak and Naakewoin,
Must with Langlade their forces join ;
Or, he will send them *tout au diable,*
As he did Baptist *Point de Saible.* (4)

And now the convert *Miamies,*
Must join the *Pottawatamies* ;—
Who're all true Catholics in religion,
Yet, as Mohamet let his pigeon,
Let those who call our bad birds here,
Whisper rebellion in their ear.
No wonder, then, their list'ner's stray'd
From what they should have done or said !
Thus *Pettagouschac* (5) said he'd take
The French King's part, for conscience sake ;
And that,— because the priest Gebau
Cajoled him with a petted crow.

Pray, did not *Brieant* (6) Quebec's Bishop,
Absolving those who threw their fish up,
Make reverend priests stand centinel,
And for *Amen!* cry, *All is well!*
Eat pork in Lent, 'gainst popish laws,
To serve your English father's cause.

1. A river and fort at the head of Lake Mitchigan. 2. A staunch friend to the British Cause, gained over by the commandant [Col. de Peyster] of Michilimackinack. 3. A horrid set of refractory Indians 4. A handsome negro, (well educated and settled in Eschecagou, but much in the French interest. 5. The great chief of the Pottawatamies, who had a Romish Chapel built in his village. 6. The Bishop of Quebec espoused the British cause most heartily, when Quebec was besieged in 1763.

Should he then care, if fish or meat,
St. Joseph's tawny sons do eat;
Or if the Twiggtwees (1) chant the mass,
Brieant would prove himself an ass.
You say, the fiery Mascoutans (2)
Won't strike the *Kitchiemokomans!* (3)
No Mascoutin drinks from my barrel,
'Till he espouse his father's quarrel;
Nor shall he have an *asseyan*, (4)
Though he's exposed a naked man.

Say, have you wanted *milk* (5) to drink,
Since your old friends, the Nippisink, (6)
With belts and strings, (7) for aid did call,
To drive the foe from Montreal? (8)
When at the Lake of the Two Mountains;
You thought it was supplied by fountains;
Wherewith you got that night so *squiby*, (9)
That you were forced next day to lie by;
While Franklin, Worster and their friends,
Wrought hard that day to gain their ends;
Which done, they escaped o'er Lake Champlain,
While, sheltered from the wind (10) and rain
Canoes turned up and baggage under,
You lay retrenched with British plunder. *

Nay, call to mind the preparations
You made me make with your orations;

1. The Indians inhabiting the Wabash and the Missurie. 2. Mascoutin signifies fire—they were by the French called *Gens de feu*. 3. The Virginians. 4. The Indians wear no breeches, but what might properly be called small clothes—a small strip of blue cloth fixed to a belt, to answer the purpose of a "fig-bag." 5. New England rum, called mother's milk. 6. Indians inhabiting the borders of Lake Nippisink. 7. Accompanied with letters from M. Matavit and other priests, the Bishop's friends—the belts and strings are what the Indians hold talks upon; a kind of bead turned out of the heart and other hard parts of the clam shell.—The white are for peace; the blue, when wrought with a figure of the tomahawk thereon, signify war. 8. Dr. Franklin and General Worster. 9. Drunk. 10. The Indians never travel in rainy weather, but turn their canoes up, and shelter themselves and their baggage under.

* Here the whole council rose hastily, and seemed to menace the Colonel but soon sat down again.

Resolving, ere you went, that I
Would to each village have an eye ;
And that by no means I'd retrench
What was allowed you by the French.
(When you went down, (1) on like occasion,
To aid *Vaudreul* 'gainst *Wolfe's* invasion,
Which with your tour to save Carillion, (2)
And Fort Du Quesne, cost France a million.

I still preserve your memorandum,
'T would strike Sir Guy (3) or Haldimand dumb ;
Which, for good reasons, I think meet,
In this grand council to repeat !
Smoked red-deer skins, for warriors' shoes,—
Item—large birch-bark, north canoes, (4)
Masts, halliards, sails, flags, oars and paddles,
Broaches, medals, bridles, saddles,
Large rolls of bark, awls, watap, (5) gum,
Lines, spunges, pipes, tobacco, rum,
Guns, powder, shot, fire-steel and flint,
Salt pork and biscuit, without stint ;
Rich arm bands, gorgets (6) and nose bobs,
Made of French Crowns and Spanish cobs ; [chiefs,
Lac'd (6) coats, chintz (6) shirts, plum'd (6) hats for
And for your beaux, (6) silk handkerchiefs ;
Paint, (7) mirrors, blankets, moultins, strouds,
To clothe the living and make shrouds

1. They were then in the French interest and commanded by Monsieur de Langlade, as they are now in the English interest, commanded by de Langlade and Gautierr, since Col. D. P. had gained them over. 2. Crown Point. 3. Commander-in-Chief, who had passed the Colonel's accounts and ☞thanked him for having been greatly the means of saving Canada.☜ 4. North canoes are of a better workmanship and made very large in order to carry a great quantity of goods beyond the Lake Superior. 5. Pine Roots for sewing bark canoes. 6. Some of the young chiefs will wear a dozen silver gorgets* one below the other. The laced coat is made very large, of the best scarlet cloth, richly laced, which they put on over a flowered chintz shirt, open at the neck and wrists and round their waists, having no breeches on. Their hats are plumed around the rim ; and the silk kerchiefs, hanging half out of the pocket, never used—All this costly dress is on days of ceremony only and easily thrown off. 7. The expenditure for vermilion is immense. [*Gen. de Peyster has witnessed this fashion and has a beautiful specimen.]

For those who might in battle fall,
Or die by rum, at Montreal.
You made me likewise, close the graves
Of war-chiefs, slain with Panis slaves ; (1)
Clothe each child, old men and women,
Give nets, hooks, lines, grease and mandamin ; (2)
Knives, scizzars, combs, hoes, hatchets, spears,
And kegs of *milk* to dry their tears,
At thy request, great Nissowaquet, (3)
I gave your young men *Sissobaquet,* (4)
Which on their journey they did brew, (5)
Into refreshing *eau-battu ;*
(Which kept thy sons too, Kitchienago, (6)
From fluxes and the ouzebenago, (7)
Which all are subject to, who drink
The water of Lake Nippisink.)
This gave them strength to work their way
To where Burgoine's lost army lay.
I saw each separate chief's provisions
Divided to prevent divisions
'Twixt the Ottawa and Chipp'wa nations,
Long used to filch each other's rations ;—
And now agree to the same thing,
If you, my sons, will serve the King ;
And take in hand the *bogomagen,* (8)
The work of Old Cawishagen,
(Great uncle to bold Matchiquis, (9)
Who never more will do amiss),
Curiously wrought with heads of beast,
True emblems of the warrior's feast.

See Jinquis-Tawanong * *strike the post,* (10)
Too old to fight, but not to boast

1. Prisoners taken by the Ottawas and Chippawas, from the Panis nation bordering the Mississippi. 2. Maise or Indian corn, which they plant by hoeing hills on the ground, wherein they plant five grains each. 3. The Ottawa chief. 4. Maple sugar, which they beat up in water. 5. And call it brewing. 6. The Chippawa chief of the Island Michillimackinack. 7. The ague. 8. The war club. 9. The same that surprised the fort [Michilimackinack, during the Pontiac War in 1763] in 1765 [Printer's error.] * Jinquis Tawanong was the old Ottawa speaker. 10. To strike the post, is to make a stroke against anything with the club before he relates his feats, and those of his ancestors, which are handed down from generation to generation.

"When I was young, and I could see,
"I trailed this up the Miamie,
"The Wabash and the Missourie.
"From these lank loins, have sprung two boys,
"Shall trail it through the Islenois,
"And make it rattle o'er the stones
"Where uninterred lay *Pondiac's* (1) bones.
"Whilst I at home the village guard,
"And *scuttawaba's* (2) my reward." (3)

Sage Quiouygoushkam (4) leads the band,
With Massisanguoin, hand in hand;
Deaf Schawanissie (5) close the rear,
Whose name the rebels love and fear:
King Nissowaquet wills it so,
Approved by stern Kenoctigo,
Fleet Yabe', and strong Windigo.

The smooth-tongued Benessw'abeme,
The smiling young Apeshabe,
Schenowishkawa, (6) whose lodge gives grace,
Amiable, with a lovely face,—
Half Indian, half Canadian race.
Tawakoney and Mitchekain,
Whose sires by Yankey rum were slain:
Neogema, Igomenon,
The bearded (7) Tecamessimon,
All Arbercrosh (8) and Kishkacon;
Ogocee, Oga and Jinguaak,
Shall trail the Chippawa tomahawk. (9)
These Kitchinægo recommends
To be your father's faithful friends:

1. The great chief killed at Fort Charters, and dragged over the rocks upon the strand, tied to a horse's tail. 2. Rum, here called hot water. 3. A general shout. 4. The most subtile of all the chiefs. 5. An excellent man, who carried an American officer upon his back for many miles, after he had wounded him, and delivered him safe into the British Hospital. 6. A devoted prisoner may take sanctuary in his wigwam or hut. 7. A very unusual circumstance, as the Indians, by help of a wire in form of a screw, take out all hairs but what cover the crown of the head. 8. Two Indian villages. 9. Wrought in a war-belt, which those who carry it are said to trail.

While shouts proclaim the Sachems' choice,
To be my children's common voice.
And I this war-belt (1) have decreed,
To him who does the noblest deed,
Who strikes no blow but in the field,
And spares the lives of all that yield.

---

1. A large belt, called the war-belt of reward, consisting of 12,000 beads of wampum. Here the colonel took another opportunity of informing the chiefs that prisoners were fair game; but if any of their young warriors scalped even any of the dead during this war, they must never expect he would look upon them again.—Whereupon they gave a general shout of approbation.

INDIAN SPEECHES.

THE chiefs' answer to the foregoing speech was not recovered from the flames; but the following are the speeches, as nearly as can be recollected, of two chiefs on their return from St. Joseph's, previous to the author's embarkation to take the command of Fort Detroit:

JINGUIS TAWANONG speaks.

FATHER,—I rise to bid you farewell in the name of the Ottawa nation. I am, likewise, to speak for the many strangers assembled at this council-fire—our old men, our wives and children, have hired me to speak for them likewise. It is with *my* tongue they bid you farewell, but it is with their own eyes they will weep your loss. They will stand upon the lake side and strain their eyes until they can see your bark no more.

[Here the Escabias bring in a present of 150 bags of maise, or Indian corn, with some packs of skins and furs, etc.]

FATHER,—you must not look upon this trifling gift as a peace offering. It is a poor mark of our esteem and friendship for you. Every woman and child threw in a dish-full (1), that, in case you might still remain among us, it would help to feed your fowls and cattle. These robes (2) will clothe you and our mother from the chilling frost. These skins you will make into the shoes of our country-fashion—'tis all your bare headed children have to offer, except their tears.

QUIEOUIGOUSHKAM then speaks.

FATHER,—I rise to speak in behalf of the Ottawas and other nations present.

---

1. Wooden vessels holding about a quart. 2. Blankets of soft dressed buffalo, beaver, and martin skins.

Father, we cannot see you leave us in anger,—that you have some cause I shall not pretend to deny; but we hope you will, after some days of reflection, think us not altogether so much to blame as was at first reported of our conduct.

When we returned from St. Joseph's, who dared speak to you? You gave such killing looks, your eyes flashed fire.

No one has seen you smile since. The father who used to meet *us*, his children, with open arms and with a smiling countenance has lately shunned us, or, if by accident any of us met him, gave us nothing but reproachful looks.

At our first council we dared not look up to him, but silently took a reprimand. When we left this fort we were like wounded deer,—we lay about on the sand and in the bushes, without speaking to each other for some days; after which, instead of doing wrong, we assembled, acknowledged the justness of your anger, and determined to take instruction from the past. Yes, father! we are pleased that you took the Frenchman's belts from us in full council and burnt them. And we hope you will do us the justice to say that no one, except *Mandamen*, murmured. It was not, however, his speech at St. Joseph's, that stopped us,—nor was it the loss of Daguagance at Maskegong, by an accident, which would have stopped us upon any other occasion, as is the custom of Indians. We wish not for a French father, we rather have reason to wish for a continuation of the English father who supplies us with all our wants.

The reason of our returning was because the enemy did not advance, and finding the country quite exhausted of provisions, our old men began to file off, and our young men followed them. You, father, have since pointed out how we might have been supplied, but you are wise and we are fools. Belts are now sliding through all the Indian country for a general rendezvous in the Illenois country,—when, independent of your further assistance, we are determined to drive the Big Knives out of the Indian country, where they only spoil our lands.

Farewell, father! we lose you; but the vile Kitchikomokamans shall pay for it. They shall carry (1) water at this fort of *Mitchilimackinack*.

---

1. Become slaves to the English.

LAKE MITCHIGAN.

By the Indians called the "man devouring lake."

THE confluence between Lake Mitchigan and Lake Huron is six miles across; and when frozen over, which it does every winter, and continues near four feet thick until the beginning of May, the soldiers and Indians, at the half-way, make holes and let down lines 40 fathoms deep to catch trout, weighing from 20 to 60 lbs. each. To take a view of this manner of fishing, the author, with one serjeant, went, when the fishers had left it in order to dry their lines and nets, at which time a most dreadful storm from the north-west drove the waters of Lake Huron with such violence into the straits that the ice broke up; which, when the garrison of Mitchilimackinack perceived, the cannon were fired to give warning that the ice had separated from the shore. When four Indian chiefs, who knew that the author, whom they called their father, was upon the lake, shoved off their bark canoe, or rather put it into the water, and sometimes carrying it across sheets of ice, and sometimes paddling through the water, succeeded in bringing him ashore. The following poem (if it may be called one) was written as descriptive of the event:

"Hope travels on, nor quits us when we die."
Said Twick'nam's trueful bard, and so said I.
Long ere from this devouring lake,
With life escaped, and still awake,

To where dread Huron, raging, tore
The ice-bound straits, from shore to shore ;
And sent me whirling, in a trice,
Upon a crumbling cake of ice,
T'were Indian friends, expert and brave,
Their lives exposed, my life to save,
While threatened with a watery grave.
Uniting courage with their skill,
I see their manly efforts still
To gain the cake whereon I stood,
(Swift drifting o'er the impetuous flood,
With woeful yearnings of the mind,
For one dear friend I'd left behind ;)
Till round they veered her prow with pride,
And laid her quivering alongside ;
Where, through the means of Heavenly grace,
The parting ice left water space,
Through which with force they plied the oar,
To where shouts echoed from the shore,
Thence bore me home, with hearts elate,
T'have saved me from impending fate ;
And spurned reward, though sore oppressed
With hunger, cold, and want of rest.

AN IMPROMPTU REPRIMAND.

To one of the Indian Department, who, after being sent out to the Indian country, returned without executing his commission, to bring back a band of warriors which had unwittingly gone to war after the preliminaries of peace had arrived at Fort Detroit.

When o'er Sandusky's dreary plains you strove,
For where Ogocees' devious war-path lay—,
When Orotondy's (1) pigs rushed from the grove,
And the gaunt sow was kept by *Coon* at bay,

---

1. The village Sachem.

Was I unmindful of thy sad distress,
When first the dreadful tidings reached mine ear?—
Could I do more than wish thou'dst staid to mess
Upon the affrighted pigs that caused thy fear?
I thought, possessed of an undaunted mind, [stand,
Thou'dst tracked the prowling carkajou (1) to her
There, forced thy way through bramble-brakes, to find
If paint (2) she scented, from that war chief's band.

Had'st thou the blood-stained (3) *Allegany* crossed,
And seen the *Ohio's* stream, meandering run;
Had'st crossed the *Lick* (4), where *Tchonquat* was lost,
Where lost was Schawanissee's warlike son,
Thou had'st returned with credit to thy house,
And I, in friendship, welcomed thy return;
Or wrote, in concert with thy wailing spouse,
If thou had'st fallen, inscriptions for thy urn.

But, spite of *Coon* (5), the *Pipe*, the *Snake*, the *Brant*,
And other dingey (6) warriors in thy train,
Thou dar'dst reproach me with unseemly rant,
T'have sent thee out, in hopes t'have had thee slain.

Avaunt, thou smouse-like lilly-livered elf!
That thou of swine, no more mayest be afraid,
I'll nail thy *lugs* to yon pig-stye myself,
And there dry shave thee with thy rusty blade.

---

1. A very fierce kind of tiger cat.* 2. The war-chiefs rub vermillion over their heads, breasts, and blankets, which, with bears' grease, occasions a strong smell. 3. At Muskingum, where the Wiandots retaliated upon Colonel Crawford, for the 93 Christian neutral Indians the Virginians had killed in cool blood. 4. The Salt Lick, a deep creek running through the plains where the large bones of the mammoth are found, a genus of animals now extinct. 5. The names of war-chiefs by white fathers. Joseph Brant's Indian name is Thayandanege. 6. Wawayachtenon, Buckanghillis, Orawanachbuat, Wabakaen, Nessowagle, &c., &c., &c. *The Glutton.

JOURNAL OF PART OF A LADY'S TRAVEL IN NORTH AMERICA.

A DESCRIPTION of Evening, near General (1) Philip Schuyler's, at Saratoga, [now Schuylerville, Saratoga County, S. N. Y.] in North America.

Here, at the pleasant close of day,
  Just ere the sun withdraws his beams,
Phil's *slaves* return from making hay,
  His wagg'ners, tired, unyoke their teams.

His black-faced maids, with well scoured pails,
  Now run to milk each loaded cow,
While threshers cease to wield their flails,
  Well pleased they see the lessened mow.

Now partlet to her roost doth fly,
  High seated next to chanticleer,
Where o'er her brood, she keeps an eye,
  Lest the sly fox, or owl, draws near.

The wary shepherd pens his fold,
  Lest, far from home his lambs should stray
To where the ruthless wolf, so bold,
  Might seize upon his helpless prey.

1. He is nephew to the inestimable Mrs. Schuyler of Albany, and second cousin to the author. His possessions are very great—his grist mills and saw mills supplying most part of the province of New York; and sends timber and grain even to England and the West Indies.

Hark ! how the *mock-bird* swells his throat,
  While hid within the vine-clad (1) thorn ;
Where you may hear *this mimic's* note, (2)
  Soon as the cock proclaims the morn.

And now, the lorn spruce partridge beats
  His wings against a mouldering tree ; *
Which, until answered, he repeats,
  To call his hen and progeny.

The *quack-qua-rie* (3) bird, perched on high,
  Proclaims aloud the sun's decline ;
Why *tree-frogs* (4) in shrill notes do cry,
  And in deep tones, huge *bull-frogs* join.

Green caty-dids (5) now grate their wings,
  Brown locusts aid the noisy choir,
And his *one note*, the cricket sings,
  With hesitations—*tout le soir.*

While men in yon *birch-bark canoe*,
  Are drifting down the unruffled tide,
'T approach a stately cariboe, (6)
  Birch browsing near the river side.

Now gurgling down the shelvéd banks,
  I scarce can hear the neighboring rills ;
Black lovers at their rural pranks,
  Or e'en the clack of *Schuyler's* mills.

Muskettoe-hawks (7), while feeding, fly
  Above my head, as thick as hops,
Surprising strangers with their cry,
  And drumming till they've filled their crops.

---

1. The vines, and rich clusters of grapes, cover many trees in the North American Woods. 2. Not to be distinguished from the crowing of the cock. [* This is styled "drumming," and can be heard at a great distance in the still woods. The editor has been directed, by the sound, to the game] 3. The Indian name for *Whip-her-will*, or American Cuckoo, [commonly styled Whip-poor-will] 4 Myriads of them lay in branches of high trees, and scream louder than a whipped child, and form a treble to the bull-frog. 5. A beautiful grass-green kind of locust, which swarm on the leaves of trees, and by grating their wings, make a loud noise, as if the whole atmosphere was keeping time. 6. A species [flat-antlered], of the American deer. 7. They pipe one shrill note, followed by a noise, resembling the hardest stroke that can be given upon the bass or long drum.

The fire-fly gives his light to all,
  Till in the east the morn is eyed!
She's up! and I my pen let fall,
  Lest some should think it *lunafied.* (1)

FROM SARATOGA TO THE ST. LAWRENCE, ON HER WAY TO QUEBEC.

"The wise and active conquer difficulties
By daring to attempt them; sloth and folly
Shiver and shrink at sight of toil and hazard,
And make the impossibility they fear."—Rowe.

She left Saratoga at dawn of the day,
  And passed bloody-pond without fear, (2)
(Where the troops of Vandreuil, with dread Indian allies,
Scalped hundreds of Britons, ta'en there by surprise),
  And dropped, as she passéd, a tear.

Encamped at Lake George, as the sun disappeared,
  The bull-frogs in thorough bass croaking,
Soon brought on a tenor from perched whip-her-will (3),
The screams of the wood-frogs (4), in trebles so shrill,
  And buzz of muskettoes provoking.

---

1. A word not to be found in Johnson, any more than fifty others made use of in this little volume; but know, gentle reader, that they are ultramarine. [Moon-struck, loony†] 2. The Indians who surprised the British, being in Canada. 3. Called quack-qua-rie by the Indians. 4. Their noise almost deafens.

On a wind-fallen tree, where I sat by her side,
To guard my best treasure from harm,
She heard the screech-owl, from an old blasted oak,
Set up a dread cry, at the wood-pecker's stroke,
Which caused in her some small alarm.

The elk's whistling pipe, too, distinctly she heard;
And what every traveller's blood chills,—
The war-whoop of Indians, returning from war!
While the *lone* evening gun, discharged from afar,
Re-echoed twelve times from the hills.

While all else was still, at the dead of night,
A boat, in the moon's wake, she spied;
In time went the oars, to the stroke-man's boat-song,
When all joined in chorus, and pulled all so strong,
She swift through the water did glide:

"Papillon vol, tiere, il vol,
Papillon vol, sur L'aviron." (1)
CHORUS—"Ho tirre galere au fond
Ho tiere galere." (2)

They landed, and dragged their batteau up the beach;
A fire was soon made for the pot;
Each stuck up a forked stick, with bear's meet to roast,
And then pitched their tents on the musical coast,
As if to sojourn on the spot.

The guide stove a keg, ready placed on its end,
Before he sat down on his pack,
To take up his calumet; when, in a trice,
The *commis* cut every batteau-man a slice
From a roll of his *bourgeois* (3) tobac.

---

1. These are two lines of a song set by the strokesman of the boat, to which every rower in turn composes as much. 2. A chorus the Canadian boatmen attach to most of their aquatic songs. 3. The bourgeois or merchant sends out his *commis* or clerk, with charge of his goods up the Indian country.

To them came the warriors, twelve in a canoe,
Who eyed her ascaunt for awhile,
And but for the war-pole (1), 'twas pleasing to view
How they laughed, danced, and sung, as familiar they grew,
O'er a cup of dashed yankey (2) in style.

The war chief invited my help-mate to dance,
To which she so kindly complied,
And stept so in tune to their hollow-tree drum,
The chief drank her health in a bumper of rum,
While she by the fierce band was eyed.

This joyous scene changed to a dread thunder storm,
The rocks, woods, and waves, seemed on fire;
The warriors appalled, did like aspen leaves shake,
Whose war chief, alone, could stand near the bright lake,
An emblem of Milton's hell-sire. (3)

Encamped the next morning, at Sabbath-day Point,
Miss *Susan* was quickly embowered,
While her mistress sat musing upon the moss stones;
Sue brought her check-apron, crammed full of dried bones,
Of a man whom the wolves had devoured.

Still not disappointed, her little kettle she boiled,
At the boatmens' already-made fire,
And put in the tea, when the water was hot,
As all travellers do, when they've fractured the pot,
Who do such refreshments require.

While salt pork was boiling, to give the men heart,
And the beds were preparing of heather,
The wolves a most hideous loud barking did make,
In chase of a buck, which soon took to the lake
Where heedless all plunged in together.

---

1. Bearing the scalps tied and dangling thereon. 2. New England Rum, much dashed with water. 3. As Satan is depicted standing, in the frontispiece of an old edition of Paradise Lost.

He crossed, but the pack, with their brushes all wet,
Ran shaking them, when we all fired ;
Thus peppered with buckshot, they dared not to stop,
Where they might have had each a salted pork chop,
Of man's flesh, by wolves more admired.

She next passed the block-house for Tycandarogue,
From whence the last evening gun fired,
And heard one from Crown-point, just at setting sun,
But a good day's work the boatman had done,
They halted that night, being tired.

From Crown-point a sloop crossed Champlain the next night,
And towed the batteau by a line ;
Becalmed for a while, we held fast by the trees,
Where gnats and vile sand-flies poor travellers do teaze,
Or I could have wished the land mine.

Soon gad flies and bad flies, of every kind,
Drew blood, as St. John's we approached;
Muskettoe-nets there, were of little avail,
For some would have pierced through a hogshead with ale,
If ale had been blood to have broached.

The rapids, alarming, were shot to Shamblee;—
"Push her off!—Hold her to!—Let her go!" (1)
The lady, undaunted, still held up her head,
While *Susan* lay down on her *face*, almost dead,
And falling, drew with her a beau. (2)

Thus ends the first Canto of rapids and lakes,
For twice she crossed Lakes George and Champlain;
Lake Ontario, Lake Erie, and Lake Huron, twice;
Saint Peter's, Saint Francis, and Lake Saint Clair, thrice;
Which made no short, female's campaign.

---

1. It being so difficult, from the impetuosity of the current, to keep the boat from oversetting. 2 A gentleman who was little calculated for such a journey.

The danger she 'scaped on those fresh water seas, (1)
And from the salt Western Ocean,
I'll sing when my head is some night more at ease,
T'intrude now too much might my readers displease,—
My limbs too require locomotion.

TRAVELING IN A BATTEAU FROM QUEBEC TO MONTREAL ON HER WAY FROM QUEBEC TO MITCHILIMACKINACK, IN 1774

On the fourth day of May, she embarked at Quebec,
In an open batteau, in a squall,
When the snow, like goose-feathers, soon covered her neck,
Which served her instead of a shawl.

Had it rained, I had thought the tears of her friends
Showered down from the rock on the strand,
How dreadful that rock (when a whirlwind impends)
To travellers who there too must land.

Dear Woodfield, of thee she but got a faint sight,
Near the cove where Wolfe landed his men ;
Dread scene of regret! of which much I could write,
But leave it to some abler pen.

---

1. The waves run as high in these lakes as they do in the Atlantic.

Grand Chaudiere, your entrance though hid by the
snow;
Your fall through the storm greets her ear;
Reminding her that she sat angling below,
While I probed the rocks with a spear.

Arrived at the *point of the tall Aspen trees*, (1)
Where two spires the church doth adorn,
The weather cleared up, and there scarce was a breeze
To fill the boat's sail the next morn.

Here the fairies might revel, well fed by the bees,
For this is sure fairyland all;
Though in June, the white blossom shook from the
fruit trees,
Resembles a winter snow-fall.

Farewell, *Point au Tremble*, (2) best known by that
name,
Reluctant we leave thee, sweet place;
And go from thee slower, by far, than we came,
Which too is the batteau-man's case.

For now they perceive the white breakers ahead,
Richelieu must be doubled ere night;
The channel be crossed too ere they go to bed,—
The moon seems to promise her light.

Cape-Rouge, Jaque-cartier, thy bridge Baptis-Champ,
Cape-Santes sweet village and spire,
Though not all discerned now by Cynthia's lamp,
We still have enough to admire.

Yon spired Indian village, poor wigwams of yore,
Its beauties I ne'er can describe;
Where the white porpoise drives shoals of herring
ashore,
As food for the Algonkin tribe.

---

1. By the Canadians named *Le Point au Tremble*. 2. In French.

But returning themselves with the low ebbing tide,
They're artfully ta'en in a toil,
By the shaking of osiers, drove to the shoal side,
There ground, and secured for their oil.

Where geese, ducks, and swans, soon alight in great flocks,
While the bald eagle soars o'er his prey,
And sea-gulls, like white-sheets, spread on the black rocks.
Are waiting for food on their way.

"Three rivers" she gained, where a twelvemonth before
She'd left many good friends behind,
Who fain would have stopped her for one twelve-months more,
No people on earth are more kind.

Saint Peter! thy lake she next crossed in a mist,
Masquenonger's rich stream near at hand,
Where the fish * of that name, the first on the list.
Of an epicure's mess-roll should stand.

Thy banks, river Sorel, she passed on her left,
So studded with house, barn, and spire,
That such as behold thee, of taste are bereft,
If they do not thy beauties admire.

See Montreal next, in appearance sublime,
Huzza, my brave lads! with a pull,
A long pull, a strong pull. and a pull all in time,
To land ere the beach is quite full.

Lest she be detained by many a friend,
To name them she'd name half the town,
Now here her batteauing for some time must end;
Fatigued too, my pen I'll lay down.

[* Muscalonge or Muskinunge, the largest kind of Pike. Editor]

In travelling from Montreal the batteau crossed the Rapids to La Prairie, leaving the Lake of the Two Mountains to the right,—proceeding up the rapids of St. Lewis, and landed at the Convent of the Grey Sisters. Proceeded the next morning to the Cedars, where the Rapids run very strong, and where boats are often in danger of being lost in the Devil's Cauldron.

The Island of the Cedars being well inhabited, horses were procured both for the purpose of drawing the boats, and to convey such of the passengers (as did not choose to risk mounting in boats) in a sort of a chaise called a calesh. On leaving the head of the island, the boats were wrought again with setting poles, against a strong rapid, until they came to *L'ance-au-Perche* (after having first passed Lake St. Frances, and dined with Satzteratsie the great chief, by whom the lady was civilly treated, and entertained with all sorts of wild meat, wild fowl, and fish), a muddy bottom, in which the setting-poles were left standing until the boats should return, as they now proceeded by dint of rowing, the water being deep, until they landed at La Gallet, or Asweegatchie,* from which fort proceeded in a ship-of-war, the *Ontario*, passing through the Archipelago,** to Cataroque, and from thence across the Lake Ontario to Niagara. From Fort Niagara proceeded to the Landing, which is nine miles up the river, whence the ship was laid along side a wharf and the baggage and provisions put upon cradles, so contrived that by the force of a capstan the whole was drawn up a steep hill, and there put into large wagons drawn by six oxen and two horses each, for 14 miles, through the woods to Steadman's Landing, or carrying place, from whence the Lady returned to view the Falls of Niagara, where, laying on her breast, she drank of the water as it fell over the precipice.

From Steadman's proceeded in batteaus 70 miles up the river (from which the Falls are supplied) to Fort Erie at the entrance of the lake of that name, where she embarked in a sloop-of-war, named the Dunmore, and proceeded to Fort Detroit, a most beautiful settlement. From thence over Lakes Sinclair and Huron, to the destined post of Mitchilimackinack, where she remained six years,—thence returned to Detroit, where her husband commanded the garrison also, and afterwards in 1785 went to Niagara, where he commanded the whole upper district of Canada.

[* Now Oswegatchie in New York. ** The Thousand Islands. Editor.]

POEMS AND SONGS.

YOUNG TAWA, (1)

THE LOYAL INDIAN LOVER.

Tune—"The yellow haired laddie."

In April, when icicles hung from the trees,
And Mitchigan's border continued to freeze,
A restless young Tawa a courting would go,
Borne up, on his snow-shoes, o'er tracks of deep snow.

Reclining he'd sit by a tapt maple tree,
When sugar was made by sweet Matchinoquee,
And play her such artless, such thrilling wild airs,
That Nassibb and Shoonin would dance like she-bears.

Young Tawa then sung, "Tho' young Shoonin be fair,
And Nassibbee apes the drawled step of the bear,
If Matchie, who's handsome, and sweetly can sing,
Would blow my reed whistle, t'would make the woods
ring."

1. A young Ottawa Indian.

But his sylvan beauty, though then in her prime,
Would shrink from a *yabe*, (1) as if 'twere a crime ;
Though sighing, he told her, if she would agree
To love him, he'd love none but Matchinoquee.

"Bright *Kesis*," he prayed, then, to *warm* the young
squa,
For he could not win her till her heart should thaw ;
"O make the sap run through her veins, with that ease
You cause it to run from her tapt maple trees."

I'll hunt till I bring her an elk or a moose, (2)
In hopes that she'll bring me a *yabe papoos*, (3)
Who, when he gets strength, too, shall *twang* his stout
bow,
And send his winged arrow, to wing Britain's foe.

SPOKEN EXTEMPORE.

On being informed of the murder of an old friend, Mr. J—— R——, of New Barbadoes Neck, in New Jersey, N. A. in the commencement of the American war.

Poor, unsuspecting, honest friend,
Full hard has been thy lot.
This story of thy tragic end,
Must wring the heart of Scott. (4)
E'en Levingston* may feel regret,
Though you loved kingly power,
And wish that you had never met
Thou friends, Laschere and Brower.

---

1. Yabe signifies a male. 2. A moose-deer. 3. A male child. 4. A friend and companion of his before their differing in opinion respecting American politics.

[William Livingston, Rebel governor of New Jersey after July 1776. Editor.]

ACROSTIC ON MISS C—— M——, OF QUEBEC.

Come listen to my artless strain,
Of one I sing, whose sprightly air
Recalls to mind Arcadia's plain;
Daphne herself was not so fair!
Enchantment dwells in all she says,
Love shoots his arrows from her eyes;
Incessant on her form we gaze,
And still behold her with surprise.

Make her, ye gods, your chiefest care;
Upon her bed shower down each bliss
Resigned I'll wait until this fair
Rewards me with a transient kiss.
Ah me! since absence won't effect a cure,
Ye fates, how long must I this pain endure?

ON A CAPRICIOUS WOMAN IN [VILLAGE OF] MITCHILIMACKINACK.

In this same village wones a dame, whose pride,
From long acquaintance, still increaseth more;
Oftimes I see her past my window glide,
Y'clad in costly raiment, to and fro,
Still aye she wears a dismal face of woe.
Her husband, too, poor man, has lost his wits,
Or how could he this bedlamite abide,
Who in a moment hence will sham strange fits,
And tear her gauze and lace all into tiney bits.

Omission.—[*Barbadoes Neck* is formed by the junction of the Hackensack and First Rivers, in Bergen Co., W. of Paulus Hook, and N. of Bergen Point, New Jersey.]

☞ In spite of all the pains taken by Editor, between his secretary and the publisher, a most stupid mistake appears in the last line of Page 32, which, instead of

"*Thou friends*, Laschere and Brower,"

should read,

"Those Fiends, Laschere and Brower."

This lady has, I weet, a buxom maid.
To kiss and tell,—be't far removed from me.
Fame says, she willom drove a smuggling trade
With all who brought her the accustomed fee,
But now such naughty things can no more be;
Her mistress keeps a dog, old Argus hight,
(Lest loosel should approach forbidden tree),
Who, like a well-trained mastiff, friends won't bite,
But prowls in quest of letchers all the live long night.

Beneath her roof an Ethiopian dwells,
A wretch that swinks, and moils from year to year;
O'er him this damsel kest her kitchen spells,—
A sop in pan to Thomas, is good cheer;
Dried maise alone, his very blood would seer.
Him she so bribed to wink at their delight,
That Tom his lady a quaint story tells,
How once through Congo, passed a man so white,
That all the jet-black natives took him for a spright.

Nathless, beware, ye wights, ye meet no stound,
The lady sleeps not though she goes to bed;
With pistol (1) she may give more deadly wound,
Than e'er Dan Cupid with his arrow sped,
And cool your love pardie with pills of lead.
Certes 'twere best to court this lady gay,
And gain the kitchen by the parlour round;
Then you may visit in broad face of day,
Ne fear that lead, ah me! will take your life away.

---

1. She used to keep a loaded pistol at her bed-side. [Note—These verses have been retained because they present so many words in common use a century since, which may now be considered altogether obsolete. 1st line, 1st verse, *wones*—dwells—veritable old Saxon, *woonan*. 1st line, 2d verse, *weet*—know;—3d line, *willom*—whilom—once;—5th line, *hight*—named;—2d line, 3d verse, *swinks and moils*—labors and drudges like a mule;—5th line, *seer*, sere, withered or dried up.—1st line, 4th verse, *stound*—misfortune;—5th line, *pardie*—verily;—8th line, *Ne*;—nœ, not or nor, &c., &c.]

RED RIVER *

A song, descriptive of the diversion of carioling, or staying upon the Ice at the Post of Detroit, in North America.

Tune—The Banks of the Dee.

In winter, when rivers and lakes do cease flowing,
The Limnades (Lake Nymphs) to warm shelter all fled;
When ships are unrigged, and their boats do cease rowing,
'Tis then we drive up and down sweet River Red.
Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
Where swift carioling (1) is dear to me ever;
While frost-bound, the *Dunmore*, the *Gage*, and *Endeavour*, (2)
Your ice bears me on to a *croupe en grillade*. (3)

Our bodies wrapped up in a robe lined with sable,
A mask o'er the face, and fur cap on the head,
We drive out to dinner—where there is no table,
No chairs we can sit on, or stools in their stead.
Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
Where sweet carioling is dear to me ever;
To woods, where on bear skins, we sit down so clever,
While served by the *Marqui* (4) with *croupe en grillade*.

1. The cariole is generally drawn by a fast pacing horse. 2. Three ships-of-war upon the lakes. 3 A French name for a *barbacued* rump of venison 4. The Marquis was the most obliging man living. He was a captain in the Indian department, and had all the French old-school in his manners. His name was La Motte, and he spoke a peculiar sort of English. [* Red or *Rouge* River rises on the lake—bejeweled County of Oakland, N W. of Detroit, and flows into Clinton River, six miles above Mount Clemens,—County Seat of Macomb, Co.,—which latter empties into Lake St. Clair, twenty miles N. N. E. of Detroit] *

"*Une Verre de Madeir*," with his aspect so pleasing,
He serves to each lady (who takes it in turn)
And says, *Chere Madame, dis will keep you* from freezing,
Was warm you within where the fire it would burn.
Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
For your carioling is dear to me ever;
Where served by the *Marquis* so polite and clever,
With smiles, and Madeir, and a *croupe en grillade.*

The goblet goes round, while sweet echo's repeating
The words which have passed through each fair lady's lips;
Wild deer (with projected long ears) leave off eating,
And bears sit attentive, erect on their hips.
Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
Your fine wooded banks shall be dear to me ever,
Where echo repeats Madame's *Chançon* so clever,
Distinctly you hear it say *croupe-en-grillade.*

The fort gun proclaims when 'tis time for returning,
Our pacers all eager at home to be fed;
We leave all the fragments, and wood clove for burning,
For those who may next drive up sweet River Red.
Freeze River Red, sweet serpentine river,
On you, carioling, be dear to me ever,
Where wit and good humor were ne'er known to sever,
While drinking a glass to a *croupe en grillade.*

THE MAPLE SUGAR MAKERS. (1)

Tune--Jolly Beggars.

I'll sling my papoo's (2) cradle, said Kitchenegoe's Meg,
With kettle, bowl, and ladle, and scoutawaba (3) keg.
A sug'ring I will go, will go, will go, will go,
A sug'ring I will go.

Nasib and Charlotte *Farlie*, of whom the lads are fond,
Shall drag (4) their father early out to the twelve mile pond.
A sug'ring I will go, &c.

Come, Nebenaquoidoquoi, and join the jovial crew,
Sheeshib and Matchinoqui shall tap a tree with you,
A sug'ring I will go, &c.

Bright Kesis, deign to aid us, and make the sap to run,
Eninga, (5) who arrayed us, at least should have a turn,
A sug'ring I will go, &c.

In kettles we will boil it, on fires between the rocks,
And lest the snow should spoil it, there tramp it in mococks, (6)
A sug'ring I will go, &c.

---

1. This and the two following pieces were not found in time to insert them in their proper places, previous to leaving Mitchilmackinack, in the year 1779. 2 The Indian child, swaddled upon a flat board, and carried upon the squa's back, by a band across the forehead, by which it is at night often hung on a tree. 3 Rum which they take with them to make sweet grog of the liquor when half boiled, to entertain their friends who may walk out to see them. 4. On a bark slay, he being lame. 5. The commandant's lady, who at this time of the year generally gives the neighboring squas each a chintz shift, and some vermillion, and other articles. 6. Boxes made of birch bark, sewed with the fibre of the spruce tree root, (called *wataſ*) holding from 30 to 50 pounds each.

Of all our occupations, sweet sug'ring is the best,
Then girls and their relations (1) can give their lovers rest,
A sug'ring I will go, &c.

But when the season's over, it will not be amiss,
That I should give my lover a sissobaquet kiss. (2)
A sug'ring we will go, &c.

WABASHAW.

After Col. D. P. had brought this, the proudest of the Indian tribes, over to espouse the English cause, and abandon the French, &c he made an annual visit, and stipulated, in his terms of alliance, that he should be saluted with more ceremony than chiefs of other nations, not in number of cannon, but by the cannon being charged with ball, or a shell or two thrown, so as to accustom his young warriors to the English manner; when he, on landing would return the compliment with pistols, fired near the commandant's ears. The Scioux, of whom he is king or chief, inhabit the plains above the fall of St. Anthony, on the Missourie, where the finest buffaloes are bred. Some Ottawas, Chippawas (local Indians), and some Chocktaws and Chickesaws, being on a mission at the Fort, the last day of his arrival, expressed their surprise, (when they beheld the balls and shells flying and bursting over the canoes, and the young men lifting their paddles, as if striking at the balls,) by the ejaculating word *Taya*—This was at Mitchilimacknack, on the 6th of July, 1779.

1 The relations of kept mistresses are very troublesome to the gentlemen who are so happy as to have an Indian miss in keeping; it is no less than keeping the whole family. 2. A sugar or sweet kiss. They [these Indian squa misses] are remarkable for white teeth and sweet breaths.

Hail to the chief; who his buffalo's back straddles,
When in his own country, far, far from this fort;
Whose brave young canoe-men, *here* hold up their
paddles,
In hopes that the whizzing balls may give them sport.
Hail to great Wabashaw!
Cannonier—fire away,
Hoist the fort-standard, and beat all the drums;
Ottawa and Chippawa,
Whoop! for great Wabashaw!
He comes—beat drums—the Scioux chief comes.

They now strain their nerves till the canoe runs bounding,
As swift as the Solen goose skims o'er the waves;
While on the lake's border, a guard is surrounding
A space, where to land the great Scioux so brave.
Hail to great Wabashaw!
Soldiers your triggers draw,
Guard—wave the colours, and give him the drum!
Chocktaw and Chickosaw,
Whoop for great Wabashaw!
Raise the port-cullis!—the King's friend is come.

A SONG.

Composed on board of the sloop Welcome, while she was getting under weigh to sail with the troops from Mitchilimackinack to Detroit, on the 20th of September, 1779.

Tune—"To all you ladies now at land."

Now to Mitchilimackinack,
We soldiers bid adieu,
And leave each squa a child on back,
Nay some are left with two.

When you return, my lads, take care
  Their boys don't take you by the hair,
With a war-whoop that shall rend the air,
  And use their scalping knives.

To see squas weeping on the strand,
  Indeed it is no joke;
Who does not wish a countermand,
  Must have a heart of oak.
There's buxom Moll, and Farlys three,
  And many other girls I see,
With a fal la la la la la la,
  Who thought themselves good wives.

With *Panies'*, (1) scalps hung at their ears,
  Young war-chiefs pay their court;
Aware that sighs and floods of tears,
  Must waft us from this port,
The Zephyrs and the Limnades (2) too,
  Incline young chiefs to favor you,
With fal la la la la la la.

If I had time now I could name,
  Of belles, at least a score;
Some that from lake Superior came,
  And some bred on this shore.
But see!—the anchor is a-peak,
  And I've no time more rhyme to seek,
Sing fal lal la la la la
  Fal la la la la la la.

---

1. *Panies* are a tribe of Indians upon whom the Ottawas and Chippawas continually make war. 2. Nymphs of the lakes.

ELEGY.

Once more the drums' sad muffled tones I hear,
A crowd moves slowly o'er yon tented plain;
Sad funeral rites of some brave youth, I fear,
On Trentown's* bloody field, disastrous slain.

That drum (ere while) which made all hearts elate,
When bravely you led on an arméd few,
Now beats a dirge to an untimely fate,
My fears foreboding—Williamson (1)—'tis you.

My tears have flowed, alas! for many a friend,
Since stern Bellona blew her trumpet shrill;
On Brockland's† plains Creggaffee's (2) life did end,
Ere healed the wounds received at Bunker's Hill.

There fell that veteran, brave Addison,
His son there fell,—in death still near allied;—
O'er them I wept;—I wept when Davison,
When Williams, Higgins, and young Vernon died. (3)

Nor did my good old friend neglected lay,
Carden, who ne'er escaped without a wound,
Still foremost to Long-point‡ he led the way,
Till what so long he braved, at length he found.

[*Trent-town, Trenton at the junction of the Deleware River and Assunpink Creek, N. J.] 1. Of the 52d Regiment. [† Brooklyn, Long Island, N. Y.] 2. Captain Nelson 52d Regiment. 3. All of the regiment killed at Bunker's Hill. [‡Thragg's Neck, which projects one or two miles into Long Island Sound? where skirmishes occurred previous to the Battle of White Plains, 28th October, 1776. There was a British landing at Pell's Point: also Long Neck Point, near Stamford, Tryon Expedition 1777. See Notes, Editor's Supplement.]

Ere Richelieu's stream begins its rapid fall,
And eddying back seems loth to leave Champlain, (1)
There sprightly Freeman, by a cannon-ball,
Thy life was ended, happily without pain.

At Saratoga, youthful Corrie bled;
Brave Troquhan, (2) murdered on Laprairie's road,
Thro' whom a fiend, by ———— thither sped,
Deliberate shot th' unerring rifle's load.

Still thine, brave Gordon, a less rigid fate,
Than that some ruffians to poor Phillips gave:
One deadly wound could not their rage abate,
They flung him limbless in a mirey grave.

THE DRILL SERGEANT,

AT MITCHILIMACKINACK, 1775.

To the Tune of - "The Happy Beggars."

Come, stand well to your order,
Make not the least false motion,
Eyes to the right,
Thumb, muzzle tight,
Lads, you have the true notion.

1. Lake Champlain. 3. Brigadier-General Gordon of Troquhan. [This was one of the cowardly murders which disgraced the American Revolution. Whitcomb, the skulking murderer, was viewed with disgust even by American officers of position, and, as in these days, escaped punishment and received advancement to avoid offense to a party. See manly notes of Gen. Horatio Rogers, pages 4 and 5, appended to his most valuable edition of "Lieut. Hadden's Journal." (Burgoyne Campaign,) 1884]

Here and there,
Every where,
That the *King's* (1) boys may be found,
Fight and die,
Be the cry
Ere in battle to give ground.

Come briskly to the shoulder,
And mind when you make ready,
No *quid* must slide
From side to side,
To make your heads unsteady,
Here and there,
Every where,
That the King's boys may be found,
Fight and die,
Be the cry,
Ere in battle to give ground.

(*The 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th stanzas were lost.*)

We beat them at the Cedars,*
With those we call our light men :
Who that same day.
Heard *Yankeys* say,
They never saw such tight men ;
Here and there,
Every where,
That the King's boys may be found ;
Fight and die,
Be the cry,
Ere in battle to give ground.

---

1. The 8th, or King's Regiment of foot, commanded by the author there, at the post of Mitchilimackinack. [* Americans defeated 18th May, 1776, Editor].

AN EPITAPH.

On Mrs. De Peyster's favorite parrot, spoken extempore, by supposing he had been killed by a kick from his master against his cage, on receiving a most treacherous bite while caressing him.

There lies poor poll, (1) ah me! a breathless corse;
How silent now,—when closed his ebon bill!
Ungoverned passion;—oh! the sad remorse,
T'have thus deprived the soldiers of a drill.

In him, ye heroes, you your fate behold,
Though you with kicking ne'er were known to die;
Still, mute your tongue, your blood I ween as cold,
When on the carnaged field you breathless lie.

Pet Dapper (2) now will rake himself to death,
Or like his murdered grand-sire (2) heedless roam;
For poll, poor poll, alas! has slipt that breath,
Which used to whistle the poor wanderer home.

O, hardened monster, ruthless to destroy
Ought so loquacious, militant, and bold;
For one small bite, to damp a lady's joy,
Herself, good soul, too meek to bite or scold.

Grenadiers, battalion, light-bobs, (3) and all,
Revenge your feathered comrade over come:
No more he'll bid you *quick march*, or call
The sergeant-major, or th' orderly drum.

---

1 This extraordinary bird was caught (at Plymouth Dock, whilst flying over the parade, in the year 1787,) by Lieutenant Brock, now General [Sir Isaac] Brock, [who captured Hull at Detroit, 15th August, 1812, and was himself killed at Queenstown Heights by the Americans, 13th October, 1812—Editor,] at the expense of a severe bite in his finger, and presented to Mrs. De Peyster. [When caught he had nearly bit off poor Brock's finger]. 2. A beautiful spaniel, son to the dog which was hunted and worried out of an upper barrack window. 3. The light infantry.

Ah ! who shall henceforth *fire* the grenadiers?
And who shall welcome in each friendly guest?
At this sad sight all bathe their eyes in tears,
And shun me (fell destroyer) as the pest.

The corporal (1) now between reliefs may sleep
(Whose presence here no more the bird will crave)
On *arms reversed,* although no soldiers weep !
No muffled drum *slow march* them to the grave.

Still *Fergusson* and *Bidd,* (2) to grief alive
For their lost friend shall give the Irish howl ;
In Newfoundlandish notes shall *Towzer* (3) strive,
While from yon ivied tower, loud screams the owl.

The bird of wisdom owned him as a friend,
And Pallas dubbed him adjutant (4) to Mars ;
Jove, from above, a listening ear would lend
To all he said, relating to the wars.

But hark ! the biting Ethiope is not dead !
Let that shrill note, my dear, your grief assuage ;
In cream, you still shall steep your fav'rite's bread,
And I will bear it, trembling, to his cage.

---

1. Frequently called by the bird to turn out the guard, as the sergeant-major was called by him ; likewise the drummers to beat off, &c 2. Two faithful servants. 3. A Newfoundland dog, with whom the parrot was so very intimate, that he would go and lay between his fore-paws, and pretend to sleep there, and at times court and kiss him ; all which the dog bore with patience. but did not much like it. 4. He could drill a squad better than many of our modern adjutants, being master of a good voice, and of every word of command, which he gave with proper emphasis. But having already said so much of him here and elswhere, [many verses omitted] by recollection the author must here conclude. Indeed, were he to repeat all that in the original manuscript was said, though *real* facts, it would not be, by strangers, believed.

PLYMOUTH* DOCK YARD IN AN UPROAR;

Wrote in 1779, when most of his Majesty's ships had costly carved heads, appropriate to the names they bore.

Would Calliope,—heroic muse,
  Forego her verse sublime ;
And to a votarist not refuse
  Her aid in doggrel rhyme—
I'd sing the knight (1) who, in a mist,
  Encountered hundreds with his fist.
When Bacchus so ordained his pate,
Should thump against the dock-yard gate,
And wake the sentry on his post,
Of which he had no cause to boast.
Pat rung the bell, and fired the gun,
T'alarm each sleeping dock-yard son ;
Who soon were ready at his call ;
The ship-wrights mustered one and all ;
The Mulcibers, disdaining spears,
Sledge-armed, led on as pioneers !
Carvers and gilders closed the rear,
With all who'd ta'en on board their beer,
Who, drunk or sober, knew no fear.
Now lest Sir Lancet blood should spill,
Fame blew her tell-tale trump so shrill,
That it was heard in every port,
When carved head-ships of war resort.

1. The hero was an officer in the dock-yard an excellent young man. [*Col. A. S de P. commanded the Garrison at Plymouth, England in 1787, &c. Editor].

The *Royal Sovereign* and the *Glory*,
Could not resist thy troops *Laforey!* (1)
Their limbs lay in the carver's shop,
From whence their heads they dared not pop;
Lest, of carved legs, mistaking pairs,
They'd break each other's neck down stairs.

Thalistris, too, brave *Amazon*,
Who served old *Palpy* (2) as a *cone*, (3)
Lay, gunwale deep, a water lock.
Andromeda, chained to a rock,
Called on winged *Perseus* to protect her,
Though not a biscuit's throw from *Hector*;
But he sought other feats to brag on,
Than to protect her from the *Dragon*,
So did the *Powerful* quit his prow,
And march with him to quell the row—
Ere it should get to such a pass,
As to require the ships *en mass*.
Thisiphone and *Megæra*,
Lay near the ships ta'en from Langara*:
The *Phœnix* then, but now the *Gib*, (4)
Dry-docked to splice each shattered rib,
Which Rodney broke, when his *Game Cock*
Crowed,—while the *Phœnix* felt the shock;
At which broadside he tore her flags,
Spain's '*ne plus ultra*,' all to rags;
And sent a *Royal Mid* on board,
To whom *Don Juan* gave his sword;
For now his ship was such a wreck,
There scarce was footing on her deck.

Ere *Fame* blew her's, bluff *Triton's* horn,
The ships moored up Hamoaze* did warm;
When *Hercules* siezed on his club,

1. The Commissioner. 2. The master-builder. 3. A sunken ship, to keep off the force of the sea from the new dock, then excavating out of the rock. 4 The Gibraltar.

Resolved the culprit's hide to drub ;
And said, that he'd the battle win,
Or cede to him his lion skin.

The bloody moon lowered in the west,
When *Vulcan*, limping home to rest,
Met *Mars*, (just torn from *Venus'* arms),
For whom war, doubtless too, had charms ;
So bid his limping godship follow,
With five armed muses, and *Apollo :*
Urania, *Thalia*, *Terpsichore*,
Clio, *Melpomene*,—all but four.

Bellona knit her awful brow,
And then to aid them made a vow ;
Which *Pallas* heard, and couched her lance,
She used against the ships of France,
When Russel drove their ships on shore,
And burnt their *Royal Sun* of yore.

Orion bent his bow so strong,
He near had snapt a twofold thong ;
When *Samson* who'd destroyed a temple,
Observed, the knight might beat cord-hemp well
Enough to spin a cord to hang him,
So begged that *Samson* would not bang him.

Goliath, now reanimated,
Found death his strength had not abated ;
Wherefore, his sword he brandishéd,
As if he'd lop off Lancet's head ;
Cyclops, *Dreadnought*, and *Colossus*,
Cried we'll bang him who dares to cross us ;
The *Barfleur*, *Bellisle*, *Blake* and *Brave*,
Said, in the fight, their share they'd have.
Bellerophon, *Warspite*, *Prince*, *Centaur*,
Alfred, *Alside*, *Boyne*, *Malabar*,
And *Agamemnon* were for war.
Valiant, *Conqueror*, *Queen*, and *Crown*,

Resolved to bring his spirit down.
Musquito, Hornet, Wasp, and *Snake,*
Sought but to sting the drunken rake.
Pincher, Pelter, Piercer, Plumper,
Sought but to give the knight a thumper.
Bull-dog, Boxer, Bruiser, Blazer,
Desired no other than fair play, sir!
The *Termagant,* so loud gave tongue,
She drowned the notes the *Syren* sung
At *Jove's* behest,—to warn the *Ocean,*
To put his briny troops in motion.
The *Leviathan, Haddock, Herring,*
All on the combatants kept staring;
Nor could the *Baracouta* shark,
Get near enough to leave his mark;
Though *Neptune* left his conch-shell car,
And, with his trident, 'gan to war;
Penelope stabb'd with her needle,
But found therewith she did succeed ill.
The *Busy, Beagle, Brisk,* and *Bold,*
Ran in to take a grappled hold.
The *Dauntless, Driad, Driver, Drake,*
All strove a grappled hold to take.
The *Daring, Dasher, Druid, Dart,*
Resolved to take their watchmen's part;
And many more which I could name,
But leave them to thy log-book, *Fame.*
Stout *Atlas* came, and would have hurled,
Upon the culprit's head—the world;
But fearing, held the pond'rous ball,
Lest it should crush his friends withal.

Britannia frowned,—good reason why,
She, with her friend and true ally
The *Victory,* could not get nigh
For want of water.—*Fly* and *Ant*
Could not bear the knight should vaunt
T'have beat the guard of all their stores.

But hark! the *British Lion* roars!
The *Tyger* and the *Leopard* squalled,
Like two huge cats that catterwauled.
The *Eagle* o'er his prey ceased soaring,
Soon as he heard the *Lion* roaring;
And winged his way to stay Jove's thunder,
Prepared the combatants to sunder.
Great *Tamerlane*—brave *Asiatic*—
Head of the *Ganges*—or *Carnatic*—
Though distant, to express his rage,
Held *Bajazet* up in a cage,
As signal to instruct the guard,
To coop him who disturbed the yard.
The *Cæsar*, *Pompey*, *Alexander*,
And many a bold-carved-head commander,
Strove all their might the foe to quell,
But strove in vain;—O shame to tell!
Though *Scipio* and *Hannibal*,
Both joined to quell the dire cabal.

Though Thalia now dread war you wage,
Thee I invoke!—suspend thy rage,
And help me to some comic rhymes,
Adapted to the scene and times!
Of massive weapons I have sung,
And now would sing the keen-edged tongue,
Which soon the battle must decide,
Unless the knight is petrified,
Or banged, as hard as brawn, his hide.

Amongst the group famed carvers carve,
There still must be one in reserve;
Whose nimble tongue, unused to yield,
May drive the culprit off the field.

Thou *Spit-fire*,—like a true poissard,
Revile him, who reviles the guard,
In language worse than Billingsgate,

Where oyster-wenches Jews do rate,
For simply saying, that the smell
Of shell fish, sends a Jew—to hell.
Or when a nymph, on Portsmouth point,
Feels her red nose put out of joint;
Or on famed Plymouth's Barbican,
A smuggler's trull rates her good man;
Or Dublin, where in Barrack street,
All sober men, bad treatment meet;
As when the *fair* b—m'd Anna Lee,
Turned up, and cried "K— that" to me.

Though thus she rated him, —vile flirt,
With language foul as scaving'd dirt,
The knight undaunted kept his ground,
And fought with spunk through every round.
In science, so excelled Mendoza,
That had Dulcinea Del-Toboza,
There been the prize, and he the knight,
He'd not have made a better fight.

Juno, looked on, and so did *Thetis!*
When *Proserpine*, who judge of heat is;
Declared the knight had fought so well,
That she would pit him soon in hell;
And there, lest he, too, quick should cool,
She'd wash him in Tartarus's pool.

Quoth *Thetis*,—I should think that he
Would rather plunge into the sea,
And stroll through coral groves with me;
Where I will wipe him with my hair,
Until his skin is sweet and fair.

Quoth *Juno*,—ladies I'd advise,
That he had best ascend the skies,
In a balloon, while with her squirt,
Iris, shall cleanse his skin from dirt.

Quoth *Venus*,—dirt is all a farce,
The knight who loves, and fights like *Mars ;*
And now while stript, whose skin and bone, is
So like to my lost love *Adonis*—
I should presume, great queens, between us,
Should be the paramour of *Venus*.

Quoth Moll M'Kerg,—la ! how odd this is !
That four stately rival goddesses,
Should differ 'bout a *Jack-an-apes*,
Who's always getting into scrapes.
Yet, since this bout he shows such mettle,
I'll souce him him in Tar-boiler's kettle ;
Then shake him in a bag of feathers,
'Till like a goose he'll stand all weathers ;
But blest *Minerva*, with her shield,
Now screened the knight, lest he should yield ;
And fair *Aurora*, showed her face,
To light him (from such sad disgrace),
Who, sobered was, by dint of blows,
And quit the precincts of Hamoaze.*

* Pronounced Hamoze (long o) See page 47* 2d line, Text, from bottom. Plymouth Harbor is double and that half, at the mouth of the Tamar, opposite Devonport, is styled the *Hamoaze*.

ST. PATRICK'S NIGHT.

A Song, composed while at the Ball.

Tune—"Derry Down."

I sing of St. Patrick, that hero of old,
In the legend, the foremost of saints he's enrolled,
Blest patron of Ireland, so greatly revered,
In honor of whom this great feast is prepared.
Derry down, down, hey derry down.

But who shall his wonderful actions translate,
Now Sternhold O'Hopkins (1) and Brady O'Tate,
Those two Irish bards that put David in metre,
Are keeping St. Patrick, to-night, with St. Peter.
Derry down, &c.

St. George slew a dragon, and great was the deed,
But Patrick caused millions of reptiles to bleed;
Converted the Irish, without sword or gun,
By th' help of a shamrock, now all this was done.
Derry down, &c.

That fearless of venom, each farmer may work,
And set his potatoes, where reptiles did lurk,
There clasp round the waist, a potatoe-fed lass,
And lay her, as Sheelah was laid, on the grass.
Derry down, &c.

Potatoes, best wall-fruit, esteemed by all those
Who ne'er turn their backs on their friends or their foes;
They sweeten sour milk, and give strength to the nation,
And string like a poddreen-of-beads,* on occasion.
Derry down, &c.

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1. Paddy is sometimes apt to put the cart before the horse. [*A Rosary (Irish), Ed.]

If e'er the *Sans Culottes* should land on this coast,
Each Paddy would run, like the saint, to his post,
In defence of his *childer*, pig, whiskey, and Sheelah,
And drive the vile reptiles all off with shelela.*
Derry down, &c.

So fill up a bumper to Ireland's protector,
Whose whisky is like what the gods do call nectar,
Whose *wall-fruit* (1) may with their ambrosia compare,
Whose sons are all brave, and whose daughters are fair.
Derry down, &c.

MONDAY EVENING, THE 21st DAY OF OCTOBER, 1798.

Brave Warren, hard to put in metre,
Art thou descended frae Sir Peter?
Than wha's, nae sailor's name sounds sweeter,
In ancient story;
Thou recent Gallic line defeater,
Near the Isle of Tory. †

Le Hoche you captured in a trice, sir!
Sae brawly ye did cut and slice her;
Ye sent her rapes to knot and splice, sir!
Snug in Loch Swilly;
For her ye'se get an unco price,
Bra fighting billie.

What ither ships ye may hae taken,
I winna sing, lest I'm mistaken;
Nor sing o' ilk that saved her bacon
By cowardice, sir;
To-morrow's Gazette thir will reckon,
Which tells nae lies, sir.

---

1. Wall-fruit—Potatoes, often so-called by the Irish, by way of recommending them to their guests, in fun. [* Shllalah, oak or blackthorn cudgel or stick, Editor.] [† Or Torry off the N. W. Coast of the County of Donegal, Ireland, N. E. of Bloody Foreland, where Sir John Borlase Warren, whipped the French, 12th Oct., 1798, Editor.]

TUESDAY EVENING, THE 22nd OF OCTOBER.

Yes, yes, 'tis here in the Gazette,
Now a' their schemes are overset;
How will the five fell tyrant's (*) fret,
And curse their fate?
While's Warren, what can pay our debt,
To thee so great.

E'en should the king create thee Baron
Of Tory, or the Isle of Arran,
For sending Jacobins to Charon,
Like drowned rats;
Who'd rather crossed the Seine or Garonne,—
Poor democrats.

Wad naething less your triumph fix,
Than famed Le Hoche, and a' her chicks,
Baith forty-fours and thirty-six,
A' at ae swoop!
Foreby o' souls that crossed the Styx,
A dreadfu' groupe.

'To win' my news up wi' a moral;—
The brave and good shall wear the laurel,
While's Gallia's sons, a' rue and sorrel,
Depressed in spirit,
Hear sea nymphs, decked in pearl and coral,
Loud chaunt thy merit.

ADVICE TO OUR MODERN AMAZONS.

While thus in regimentals clad,
You personate a yoeman;
Would you not think their leader mad,
Should he affect a woman?

---

* The five Directors constituting the French Government [overthrown by Bonaparte, 9th Nov., 1800, by what is known as the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire, Editor.]

Should his lieutenant flirt a fan,
His cornet knit a stocking ;
You'd doubtless think that, to a man,
Our yoemanry were mocking.

Fair *Sans Culottes*, let me advise,
Throw by your boots and switches ;
With female charms attract men's eyes,
Ere you can wear the breeches.
Cease, cease to ape those martial men,
Designed for your protectors,
Till Hymen light his torch, and then
You may raise troops of Hectors.

SONG.

The Sea Horse [*36 g*] *and La Sybelle* [*36 g*].

The famed Bonaparte set out from Toulon,
With a fleet and an army, by light of the moon,
To visit Grand-Cairo,—and set Egypt free,
And pass o'er to England,—round by the Red Sea.
Derry down, down, hey derry down.

He looked into Malta, as if 'twere by chance,
And thought it would suit the republic of France,
Of which the Grand Master, he soon did convince,
By giving his promise—to make him a prince.
Derry down, &c.

The fast-sailing *Sybelle* he choose from the fleet,
To lay Malta's plunder, at five despots' feet,
But as towards Toulon she ran on her course,
She met with an odd-fish, we call the *Sea Horse.*
Derry down, &c.

[* General Sir Edward Cust, in his "Annals of the Wars," 1, 5, 155, says it was the "*Sensible*," 36 guns, but as Col. deP. commanded at Plymouth, he ought to have known, and, if so, the printers have misspelled the name which should be *La Sibylle* or *La Cybele.* Editor.]

Who gave her a broadside, while she crowded sail,
In hopes that to reach a French fort, she'd not fail;
But she was soon boarded by brave Captain Cook,
Who soon had her captured,—down in his log-book.
Derry down, &c.

EXTEMPORE SPEECH.

Taken from the Author's thanks to his Volunteer Corps for their magnificent present of a valuable piece of plate.

I'LL SAY FOR THE LADY—

She feels it more within her breast,
Than words can e'er impart!—
Then let the proud sensation rest,
Lock'd in a grateful heart.

A SONG, COMPOSED THE 1st DAY OF JANUARY, 1799.

Tune—"Come, let us prepare."

A happy New Year,
To all that would hear,
Instead of a vaunting oration,
A volunteer song,
To prove that we're strong,
In defence of the King and the nation.

In story we're told,
How Britons are bold,
In which we had late confirmation;
When off Camperdown
Brave Duncan bore down,
On the foes of the King and the nation.

Our strong wooden walls,
All studded with balls,
Sails torn by the wind on each station,

Still block up Monsieur,
The Don,—and Mynheer,
In support of the King and the nation.

In the Indies we find,
Our forces combined,
Give Democrats utter vexation ;
And on this fair coast,
Should they land a host,
Huzza ! for the King and the Nation.

When the Bourgeois, in France,
Their cash do advance,
On a loan of most fell desperation ;
What man can withhold,
His arm or his gold,
From supporting the King and the nation ?

Already see Quill, (1)
S' expert at the drill,
You'd think it his sole occupation ;
Now in a good cause,
A bayonet he draws,
In support of the King and the nation.

While Fop, Crop, and Slop, (2)
Prime, load, and pop, pop,
Fair half-booted Amazons gaze on ;
And long to unite,
With lads who can fight,
In support of the King and the nation.

Square, Snip, Felt, and Vamp (3)
Will hie to the camp,
The instant they hear of invasion ;
Each red spencered lass,
Will join in the mass,
In support of the King and the nation.

---

1. The attorney and writer. [The latter, a title of a member of a certain class of Scotch Lawyers.—Editor.] 2. The beau, the hair-dresser, and the apothecary. 3. The joiner, the tailor, the hatter, and shoemaker.

Although Pitt and Fox,
Still spar like two cocks,
On ev'ry financing occasion ;
Should e'er the French land,
United they'd stand,
In defence of the King and the nation.

We've volunteered all,
The palace and stall,
Pot-cellar and bard's elevation ;
Would all take delight,
To fight the good fight,
In support of the King and the nation.

With long live the King,
The welkin shall ring,
From subjects of every persuasion ;
Each sword and each purse,
Though war is a curse,
We'll draw for the King and the nation.

AMONG THE TOMBS.

One lowly stone—no cloud cap't urns,
The Muses droop,—e'en Thalia spurns,
Her comic mask, to weep o'er Burns,
In mournful strains,
Who from this bourne no more returns,
To cheer our plains.

Here, unincumbered, let him lie,
Free from yon towering pageantry,
Which, when it met the poet's eye,
He did despise!
Should pride ask me the reason why?
The bard was wise.

While mouldering in this Old Kirk-yard,
Where worldly prospects all are marr'd
The lark shall, from thy daisied sward,
Rise high in song;
As thou oft didst, sweet rustic bard,
Though sometimes wrong.

The little mouse, and wounded hare,
Too, sung by thee, sweet bard of Air,
Shall, sympathizing, here repair,
Still loath to part
From one who showed, for their welfare,
A feeling heart.

A SONG.

Tune—"Push about the Jorum."

Brave Nelson is the man for me,
In Britain's cause so hearty,
That day and night he ploughed the sea.
In quest of Bonaparte.
North and east, and south and west,
He cruised, in hopes to find him ;
When I supposed that horrid pest,
The Syroc wind did blind him.
Fal lal, fal lal, la.

At length, we found the Gallic line,
Moored in Aboukir Bay, sir ;
Sunk one, burnt three, and captured nine,
And four ships ran away, sir.
The ship which bore their Admiral's flag,
Of an enormous size, sir,
Blew up, and left the French to brag,
She was not made a prize, sir.
Fal lal, &c.

From where Fame rais'd brave Westcott's urn,
On Alexandria's strand, sir ;
No Frenchman ever shall return,
Without a helping hand, sir.
There, while their chiefs at fortune rail,
Britannia still shall smile, sir ;
On George our King,—and Nelson hail,
Lord Baron of the Nile, sir.
Fal lal, &c.

Fresh laurels bind his wounded brow,
As once they did his arm, sir ;
So lest a laurelled trunk he grow,
And we exposed to harm, sir :

Let's pray to God!—that he'll protect
  This guardian of our isle, sir;
And still his future steps direct,
  To make Brittannia smile, sir.
    Fal lal, &c.

EPIGRAM.

Vienna's wits their brains may rack,
In writing pasquinades on Mac,*
    T' excite the mob to stone him,
While here a nobler flame has caught
Macnab, Macnish, Macneil, Macnaught,
    Who one and all disown him.

Macwhir, Mackune, Maclish, Maclure,
The name of Mac can scarce endure,
    When they reflect upon it;
For 'till that day at Ulm no Mac,
Who met the French, e'er turned his back,
    Or meanly doff'd his bonnet.

Throughout the globe now every Mac,
Who bears a coronet,—or pack,
    Or pinch of snish about him;
Mackay, Mackie, Mackeg, Mackan,
All Macs, e'en *Mickmacks* † to a man,
    Indignant sure must flout him.

[* Mack, who suffered himself to be so disgracefully outgeneraled and ignominously captured by Napoleon In 1805, Editor.] [† A tribe of North American Indians at one time under the charge of Col. deP? Editor.]

THE INVASION.

Tune—"Derry Down."

Fame says that the French will invade with an host,
As great as when Xerxes the Hellespont crossed;
With fascines, and wool-packs, they'll bridge the way over—
The salt ditch that lies betwixt Calais and Dover.
Derry down, down, hey derry down.

And, lest the bridge fail, they are building of rafts,
And, dreadful to look at, are sinking deep shafts;
In point of invading, since all can't agree,—
Some mean to pass over,—some under the sea.
Derry down, &c.

Ye ladies, so fond of fresh eggs in the shell,
Be sure, when you've eat them, to crumble them well;
Lest the witches, in egg-shells, sail over to France,
To pilot the fleet of this "Man of Romance." (1)
Derry down, &c.

Ye old-maids, and house-maids, ye milk-maids, and grooms,
Whene'er you get new ones,—pray burn your old brooms;
Lest Hecate should play you a trick unaware,
And bring o'er the Poissards, astride through the air.
Derry down, &c.

The scheme of importing large nut-shells (2) from Spain,
To old navigators, must doubtless prove vain;
Large nut-shells might do for such troops as Queen Mab's,
The true sons of Poissards prefer shells of crabs.
Derry down, &c.

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1. See Talleyrand's compliment to Bonaparte in the Senate, where he terms him a "Man of Romance." 2. Taken from a newspaper account of their threats.

In whatever transports they mean to come on,
Supported by Mynheer, the Diel, * or the Don;
We'll tip them a Duncan, a Jarvis, or Howe,
And Frederick,† with laurels (1) shall cover his brow.

EPIGRAM

Upon the Affair at Ulm.

When Napoleon took old Mack,
He'd rule the world—all in a crack,
Now he has ships in plenty,
He little dreamt, that making war
'Gainst Nelson, off Cape Trafalgar,
Villeneuve lost him twenty.

Soon as the tyrant heard the news,
He cursed the ships, and damned the crews,
And asked if Gantheaume knew it?
If not, O Berthier! write from me,
To bid him put his fleet to sea,
And make Cornwallis rue it.

But fearing, still, some worse disaster,
Shrewd Berthier, briefly told his master,
How he conceived it best—
That as the French were "the great nation," (2)
To let Cornwallis keep his station,
And Gantheaume his,—in Brest.

---

1. In case any part of them should land. [*The Devil.—Editor.] [†Duke of York Com. in Chief, British Army, Editor.] 2. The French so styled themselves in the beginning of the Revolution.

AN EXTEMPORE.

On hearing the death of Lord Nelson.

The muse reluctant drops a tear,—
  Britannia's sons suppress the smile,—
Fame tells of victory—won too dear—
  We mourn the Hero of the Nile.

Off Trafalgar, two fleets combined,
  Culled from the ports of France and Spain,
Brave Nelson beat, e'er he resigned
  His soul to Him Who formed the main.

The muse prophetic now declares,
  Their proud flotillas soon shall burn,—
Within their ports our gallant tars,
  Shall sacrifice them to his urn!

Yes! upstart tyrant! while you boast
  Your easy conquest of old Mack;
Britannia's sons shall sweep your coast,
  And prove how true "that ships you lack."

But say thou'st ships—where are the men,
  Who'll stand the British lion's roar?
When apes invade a lion's den
  Then you may land upon this shore!

ART AND NATURE.

Lines occasioned by having met the Nurse with an infant daughter of Sir J[ohn] J[ohnson, Bart:] in her arms, wrapt in a shawl.

The R. A.s Peter Pindar sung,
  Or rather lashed severely,
Were men, I could name some among,
  Deserving praise sincerely;
Sir Joshua Reynolds, Opie, West,
  For fine historic pieces;
For miniature, no doubt the best,
  Is where art most increases;—
Through Conway's works, the stroke of art
  Is seen in every feature;
But would Nurse know who can impart
  The loveliest tints of Nature?

Though Prior tuned of yore his lay,
  To praise Sir Godfrey Kneller;
It is not him, nor an R. A.—
  'Tis one I need not tell her.
In his own likeness, shown to all,
  The face excels all others;
Though part's concealed beneath that shawl,
  May be like his grandmother's!*

VERSES.

The following were hastily composed, on reading the report of Banaparte's striking the Russian Ambassador, for speaking in favor of the British subjects detained in France.--

I sing the man, whose like ne'er p—t,
Who beat Count Markoff with his fist,

[* Anne de Lancey, wife of Hon. John Watts, Senr. of New York, President of the King's Council of the Province, &c, who if the Crown had subdued the Rebellion would have been Lieutenant Governor and Acting Governor of New York, Editor.]

Ere he was entered on the list
For fame so sweet ;
Like that Young Russian pugilist,
Whom Belcher beat.

At Petersburg, and at Moscow,
Say Bonaparte had dealt a blow,
And hit the Czar's grave Plenipo',
With all his might ;
Would not the Ghost of Suwarrow
Stalk forth and fight ?

What will the artful Talleyrand
Say for this lifting of the hand,
By one who has the sole command
Of all the French ?
How make the Russians understand
He did but clench. ?

No doubt, this Machiavellian sage
Will say, it was not done in rage—
That, in the way of *badinage,*
He meant to spar,—
For sure he could not wish to wage
With Russians war !

Yet, will not Alexander say,
He'll make the Consul rue such play,
When at the Thuilleries, in May,
His Plenipo',
Stood up for Briton's rights that day,
And got a blow ;

A NEW SONG TO AN OLD TUNE ;

Written when the Author commanded the Dumfries Volunteers

Napoleon threatened to invade,
But now that threat is laid aside,—

He cannot sail while we blockade,
Nor has he *Micromega's* (1) stride.
Rule Britannia,
Britannia rules the waves,
Britons never will be slaves.

Balloons, like bubbles in the air,
Might burst and souse him in the sea;
If landed, he must still despair,
So list, Napoleon! list to me.

Should Hecate take thee o'er by night,
Both horse and foot, on brooms astride,
Know that our Volunteers would fight,
Until they cool a tyrant's pride.

Could you congeal the sea, to pass,
United every nerve we'd strain,—
Britannia's sons would rise *en masse*,
And beat you on the icy plain.

For India, should you e'er presume
To send you choicest troops by land,
They'd, as at *Maida*,* meet their doom,—
There, Britons too, would be at hand.

Or, should Gibraltar be your mark,
You there would just succeed as soon,
As when a *cur* sits down to bark,
Upon the rock, to bay the moon.

Mind what old Talleyrand advised,—
Keep free from England, Russia, Spain,—
Your troops shall there be sacrificed,
Few would return to France again.

On *Ultra Mundane* conquest fix,
And where the passage is not wide,
Let Charon row you cross the Styx,—
There set the prince of hell aside.

1. Of twenty-four leagues.—See Voltaire. [* 4th July, 1806, Stuart beat Regnier]

Then, discord in this world would cease,—
The *Bonapartes* all ceased to reign ;
Fame will proclaim a general peace,—
A Bourbon mount the throne again.
Rule Britannia,
Britannia rule the main,
Place Bourbon on his throne again.

IMPROMPTU.—

On hearing of the death of the Marquis of Cornwallis.

Pitt, Nelson, and Cornwallis, dead!—
To Heaven three such spirits fled,
And Austria's banner furled,
For peace should not make Britons sue,
Who, to themselves, need but prove true,
And still defy the world!

ON THE DEATH OF SIR JOHN MOORE,

Who so gloriously fell at Corunna.—Vide Gazette Extraordinary, of 24th January, 1809.

Yes; Moore like Wolfe was nobly slain
The enemy defeating;—
Wolfe, did immortal honor gain
Advancing—Moore, retreating!
On Ab'ram's heights, Wolfe smiling died
When victory was shouted,
And Moore, in Spain, died satisfied
When told the French were routed.

Similitude is here so just,
That soon shall be erected,
A monument—to say Moore's dust,
Like Wolfe's, should be respected.

A SONG.

Composed in a few minutes, whilst another person was reading the Courier of 31st July, 1811.

A wag late proposed an address—*le drole homme*,
To young Bonaparte, the baptised King of Rome,
In a breech-clout and chin-bib so nice,
Up jumped the senators of France,
As if seized with St. Vitus' dance,
And hied to St. Cloud, where they prayed for ingress,
That they might present the young king their address,
In his breech-clout and his chin-bib so nice.

Montmorenci read the address to the cradle,
And wiped the gold pap-spoon, as large as a ladle,
On a dry clout or a chin-bib so nice;
Then prophesied, the puling king
Would thousands to the scaffold bring:
As he took up the pap, and restirred it about,
While nursey replaced his wet bib and wet clout,
With a dry clout and a chin-bib so nice.

Some held his wet clouts, at the fire-side to dry,
And some joined her singing the king's lullaby,
In his breech-clout and a chin-bib so nice;—
Nurse took the king upon her knee,

And turned him up, that all might see
The part they so loyally longed for to kiss,
Which she had wiped clean, from what he'd done amiss,
In his breech-clout and a chin-bib so nice.

The lullaby'd monarch was soon put to sleep,
When all the grave senators closely did creep,
To his breech-clout and his chin-bib so nice;
On bended knee each took a smell,
That he the king's papa might tell,
How much it excelled the famed *odeur-de-rose*,
When it was snuffed up a grave senator's nose,
From a breech-clout and a chin-bib so nice.

EXTEMPORE.

On being informed that Major Bryce Maxwell, of the King's Regiment, was dead of the wound he received when leading on the regiment to the attack of a fort, at the taking of the Island of Martinique, on the 3d February, 1809.

Is Maxwell dead?—that cannot be,—
He still lives on the list of Fame;
In Holland, Denmark, Egypt, see
How he immortalized his name.
If, since at Martinique he fell,
And there awhile entombed must lie,
There, too, his deeds Fame's list shall swell,
While his pure soul ascends the sky.

THE SAUCY NAIAD. (1)

The fell Bonaparte, from his flotilla's port,
Sent out his black praams to engage a fair Maid,
And swore that his admiral's neck he'd distort,
If he did not bring in—the Saucy Naiad.

So cooly she took the red shot from his tower—
The nymph should no longer *ride* (2) there to blockade,
And now, in a calm, she would be in his power—
His praams could row out to—the Saucy Naiad.

With such rare instructions, the praams all broke ground,
Their carronades, cannon, and eagles display'd;
A pilot of skill, soon, in Boulogne was found
To take in (*when captured*)—the Saucy Naiad.

Napoleon, and Ney, to encourage the fight,
Embarked in a barge, with imperial parade—
The pregnant *Louisa* longed much for a sight
Of that English frigate—the Saucy Naiad.

Loud shouts, from the shore, when they'd broke ground, were heard,
Joy-bells rung in Boulogne, bonfires too were made,—
All eyed great Napoleon—while Napoleon *stared*
To see *Basti* (3) row out to the—Saucy Naiad.

---

1 Commanded by Captain Cateret,—20th and 21st Sept., 1811.—Called *Saucy* by her crew. 2. At anchor, waiting for the attack. 3. The Admiral

But fate soon ordained that his admiral was beat,
His high soaring eagles, on deck were low laid ;
And, when the great Emperor saw him retreat,
He sign'd (1) to go back for the Saucy Naiad.

His commodore struck, too, and was made a prize,
To save his brave admiral, *as it is said* ;—
Should any suspect now, that I'm telling lies,
At Dover they'll see him moored by the Naiad.

The admiral, when questioned, replied, "Sire, but then
You never, till this time, have seen me afraid—
You sent me to fight with the bravest of men—
They're devils on board of that Saucy Naiad!"

Your praams are all shattered to such a degree,
That they'll want repairing before you invade ;
And I will take care, if you do not hang me,
How next I engage with the Saucy Naiad."

THE DOCK OF DUMFRIES.

Tune—"The Black Joke."

I've travelled this country from East to the West,
From North to the South, and of walks seen the best,
But no walk like the Dock of Dumfries ;—
'Tis there you'll see a sprightly lass,
Bleaching her linen on the grass,
Or dancing a tub-jig upon the Nith banks,
Where the local militia are marching in ranks,
To the "Black Joke," over daisies so white.

---

1. By causing the tower guns to fire into her.

Some take great delight on the Corberry-hill,—
The prospect is pleasing, seen from the wind-mill—
But no walk like the Dock of Dumfries ;—
You see the fish flounce in the net—
The corn spring up—potatoes set—
Ships sailing—herds grazing,—along the Nith banks,
Where the local militia are marching in ranks,
To the "Black Joke," over daisies so white.

If down to the Kingholm, or New Quay you rove,
You hear the birds singing at sweet Mavis Grove,—
There's no walk like the Dock of Dumfries ;—
What though you see the English side,—
Old Solway rolling in his tide,
And ready stript bathers plunge in from the banks,
Where the local militia are marching in ranks,
To the "Black Joke," over the daisies so white.

If e'er the French conscripts should land on this coast,
The local militia would so take their post,
They'd ne'er walk on the Dock of Dumfries ;—
Protecting all that's dear to man,
Though Bonaparte should lead their van,
Extended, from column, we'd charge them in ranks,
Like geese, send them cackling, all down the Nith banks,
To the "Black Joke," over daisies so white.

Or should he send over his young King of Rome,
Our loyal tub-dancers would soon send him home,
Besudsed o'er from the Dock of Dumfries ;—
And should they think such treatment *rough*,
We'd give them *polished steel* enough—
Like Graham of Balgowan, all down the Nith banks,
Our local militia should charge them in ranks,
To the "Black Joke," over daisies so white.

EXTEMPORE.

On hearing of the battle of Salamanca.

Let fame proclaim to Bonaparte,
His Marmont's sad defeat,
And so appal the tryant's heart
That he'll sound a retreat.

The Czar will now no battle shun,
But turn upon the foe,
And like th' immortal Wellington,
Strike a decisive blow.

The Swedes, the Danes, and Prussians all,
May follow up the stroke,
And every state, he doth enthral
Shake off the tyrant's yoke.

A PROLOGUE.

Written at a moment's notice, to be spoken by a gentleman in the character of Sharp, in the Lying Valet, for the benefit of the Poor House of Dumfries.

Though tired with the manœuvres of the day,
The generous soldier here attends the play.—
The play !—the *Lying Valet* is a farce,
To be performed to-night by sons of Mars ;
Who little heed how ill their parts are cast,
So *Sharp* procures the poor a good repast :—
And yet it would be right to entertain

Our guests so numerous and so humane.
No pushing now for room, all bear a squeeze;
The more your neighbors crowd, the more they please.
Thou white-robed, nymph, fair Charity, descend,
Assist our stage, and to it be a friend.
Humanity! of virtues—thou the first,
Dost clothe and feed the poor, and quench their thirst.
Conspicuous here, in ranks, thou stand'st confessed,
The welcome inmate of each honest breast.
The prince, the patriot, statesman, magistrate,
Should ever harbour thee, thou blest inmate!
Then war and famine would no longer rage,
The world would soon renew its golden age,
And I'd no more speak prologues on the stage.
On you, ye fair, I need not this impress,
You're always ready to relieve distress:—
Before your alms are asked, the deed is done,
With purse in hand,—for pockets you wear none,
But I'll not criticise upon your dress,—
Before the poor should want—you'd e'en wear less.
To change the subject, then, come let us sing,—
Pray, strike up music, "God save George our King."

God save great George our King;
To health restore our King.
God save the King.
Make him victorious,
Happy as glorious,
Still to reign over us,
God save the King.
May the Prince Regent's care,
('Till God his health repair)
So do the thing
For Portugal and Spain,
That French attempts prove vain—
Their lawful kings soon reign,
Through George our King.

IMPROMPTU.

To a lady, on seeing her weep when she heard the account read of the death of her friend Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, who fell near Queenstown, North America.

I must not bid thee cease to weep,
Our mutual loss so great,
While my own eyes in tears I steep,
For Brock's untimely fate.

His soldiers—all—will doubtless rue,
Their loss of such a man ;—
Whose early fall, there proves how true,
He dauntless led the van.

I think I see each Indian Chief
In silence droop his head!
Expressive of his heartfelt grief
For friend, and soldier, dead!

Now, hear them whoop! and see them run
To where the hero lies,
Resolv'd to vent their rage upon
Great Britain's enemies.

Dumfries, Nov. 30th, 1812.

Written in consequence of having seen a piece of poetry in the Dumfries and Galloway Courier, signed Drumfrisiowskikoff.

Friend Drumfrisiowskikoff doubtless must know
Though *Boney* miss'd *glory*, he's *covered* with snow ;
And that no brave conscript needs now a pelisse,—
All covered with feathers—they'll fly like wild geese.
Derry down, down, &c.

His health is *a merveille*—his stomach not nice,—
He quaffs his French brandy,—all *covered* with ice,
Devours frozen venison, as hard as a stone,
Which like a starv'd blood-hound, he gnaws to the bone.
Derry down, &c.

All know how at Tilsit he got round the Czar,
But now that they're led by one skilful in war,
The young rugged Russians, at conscripts do scoff,
Who cry, "they're united all—to *Cut-us-off.*"
Derry down, &c.

Which heard at the Kremlin, the tyrant did run,
In hopes, at Smolensko, all pursuit to shun,
But keen as fox-hunters, the Cossacks did track
His Marengo pony, and soon turned him back.
Derry down, &c.

Your *hemp*, is a hoax, sir! and so is your *cage*,
Such things are not practiced in this refined age:—
But Louisa dream'd that they'd bag'd her old fox,
And served him as Brabanters serve Breda cocks.
Derry down, &c.

And then, that they'd sent him on parole to France,
Where Talleyrand styled him "a man of romance,"
And how that she met him with grief in her heart,
When, sighing, she cried out, "alas! Bonaparte.'—
Derry down, &c.

"The conquered Italians, sir! made you a king!—
"Without mutilation—your cause had to sing;
"Then what could that Russian bear *Kut-us-off* mean,
"By sending you *warbling* back to a young queen.
Derry down, &c.

"Run pages, and seek for the young King of Rome,
"Hark!—tell him his papa, in *health* is come home,

"And that he'll soon see his dear uncle Murat,
"Whom Platow mistook for an old civet cat."
Derry down, &c,

The troops are home marching.—excepting all those
Who're covered with glory, or have frosted toes;—
Beauharnois and Berthier, and Ney and Davoust,
Will show him his *papa's* invincible host.
Derry down, &c.

MAVISGROVIOUSKIKOFF.

THE INHOSPITABLE RUSSIAN.

Now I, brave Rostopchin, reflect
On deeds deserving fame,—
A *flame-cap't-pillar* (1) I'll erect,
In honor of your name:—
When told of an advancing foe,
From whom you should retire,—
You left the near consumed Moscow,
To set your house on fire.
Resolving thus within your mind,
That cold, succeeding heat,—
Where Bonaparte no house could find,
Would cause him to retreat.

BONAPARTE'S FLYING SPEECH.

Tune—"Welcome, welcome, Brother Debtor."

Come listen to my dismal story,
The like again you ne'er shall hear;
I from the pinnacle of glory
Have fallen, and no one sheds a tear!

1. A pillar with a flame issuing from the entablature.

To Russia I led on an army,
As great as Xerxes led of old,
And never dreamed that ought could harm me,
Until my troops complained of cold.

To them I'd promised winter-quarters,
In that great city of Moscow;
To ravish Russians' wives and daughters,
They forced their way knee-deep in snow.

Now fye upon sly Alexander,
My proffered terms he would not hear,
Takes Cut-us-off as his commander,
Who played us a vile *ruse de guerre.*

Reduced the city all to ashes!
Such treatment from him was unkind;
This Russian general, no doubt, rash is;
I would the Czar was of my mind.

Though I've run off and gained Smolensko.
And hope in time to reach Warsaw—
Which if I should—Pray how from thence go
T' escape the vile *black eagle's* (1) claw?

Who with the *lion* now united,
(The prophesy must be fulfilled,)
To tear my heart will be delighted,
In search of all the blood I spilled:

But if my veins could hold an ocean,
They'd soon be drained to pay it all;
So, *Nick*, I'm all at your devotion!
No matter now how low I fall.

Dumfries, 19th Dec., 1812.

1. Alluding to the remarkable prophecy in the possession of Lady Canwath, as published in the Dumfries and Galloway Courier of 4th August last.

APPENDIX: EXPLANATORY NOTES

MISCELLANIES

☞This publication appears in Two Parts, because it was printed in two different offices. This was owing in a great measure to the fact that the work was so delayed it became necessary to divide it to get it done promptly. When thus distributed, ill health within himself and in his family and the necessity of submitting proof to parties at a distance, caused additional delays and difficulty Illustrations were sought in Europe, likewise authorities, which did not arrive in time. One gentleman, Mr. McDowall, at Dumfries, Scotland, who was a most painstaking and courteous correspondent, died suddenly, and he was one of the few who had responded satisfactorily. Consequently, to get the matter off the hands and mind, since there was every appearance by waiting that additional delay might ensue, concerning which no calculation could be made, this labor of over a year is sent forth to those who may be interested in the subject, the Editor intending, if he lives and has health, to print a Supplement with additional information and other illustrations, &c., if they can be obtained.☜ J. W. DE P.

☞During the past twelve months, while the pages from I. to CCI. were passing through the press, efforts were made to obtain Major-General, Sir James Carmichael-Smyth, Bart's "*Precis of the Wars in Canada, from 1755 to the Treaty of Ghent in 1814*," which was originally printed in 1826, by the desire of His Grace, the Duke of Wellington, then Master-General of the Ordnance, "for the use and convenience of official people only," who were requested to regard it as strictly confidential. In spite of every effort a copy could not be found through the book-importer applied to, nor, in spite of the effort made by a near relative, until, strange to say, on the very night that the proof of the last page was corrected, a copy of a reprint, bearing date 1862, came to hand from London, and next day a second from another source. With what relates to occurrences *prior* to the Revolution the Editor has nothing to do, although it may be interesting to know that the fortifications of Louisburg cost, according to Le Raynal, £1,250,000 Sterling, equal, at this time, to at least $37,000,000. "The stone was quarried and the lime burned in France, and then conveyed, together with the necessary work-people, across the Atlantic." Nevertheless, Louisburg, 17th July, 1745, was taken "by an armament fitted out at Boston under the orders of a New England gentleman by the name of Peperell. Peperell, although not a regular soldier [he was a merchant or trader], appears to have possessed all the knowledge, talents, and spirit of enterprise, necessary to ensure success to such an undertaking."

It is worthy of remark that, although the British author was a Regular of regulars and an Engineer, his pages are full of praises of the American Provincials, or Volunteers, or Militia, and his report or *Precis* was founded on personal observation, since the Duke of Wellington, in 1824, selected him to proceed to Canada to inspect and suggest, in regard to the defences of that Colony, now Dominion. In 1755, he treats of the Campaign in Northern New York, whose success won for Major-General William Johnson, a Baronetcy and other rich rewards, entirely ignoring the claims of the New Englander, Lyman, for whom the brassy people of that section would claim all the honor, in the same way that they endeavor to arrogate to themselves the majority of the credit for the success of the Revolution, as well as pretty much everything else of consequence since that epoch. Again, the General says, "The blockade of Crown Point was entrusted entirely to Provincial troops, commanded by a Provincial General [Johnson]. He seems to have taken his measures with great prudence and good sense. He assembled his people at the head of Hudson's River ; and, proposing to advance by Lake George into Lake Champlain, he threw up some works to cover his stores and provisions at the points, both of disembarkation and re-embarkation. The works on Hudson's River were called Fort Edward ; those at the head of Lake George, Fort William Henry. The distance between the two, was about 12 miles. The French advanced from Ticonderoga, where they had taken post (about 10 miles in front of Crown Point), and marched to attack General Johnson's post on the Hudson's River (Fort Edward), where he had left a garrison of 300 men. Johnson, getting intelligence of this movement, detached 1,200 men to attack the rear of the French column. The French defeated this party ; and, encouraged by their success, assaulted, on the 8th September, General Johnson in his position at Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George. They were, however, repulsed with loss, and the French officer in command, Baron Dieskau, was taken prisoner. The French troops retired to Ticonderoga, having thus failed in their attempts both upon Fort Edward and Fort William Henry. They had been reinforced from Canada, and were more numerous than had been imagined when the expedition against Crown Point had been decided upon. They had 2.000 men at Ticonderoga, and 500 at Crown Point. Both these points they strengthened (after the affair of the 8th September) by every means in their power ; and drawing their supplies from Canada by Lake Champlain, left respectable garrisons to hold them during the winter. General Johnson, on his part, exerted himself to place Fort William Henry in a state of defence, and leaving one battalion of Provincials in charge of it, and of Fort Edward, he retired to Albany, about 50 miles from Fort William Henry for the winter. The English post at Fort William Henry, and that of the French at Ticonderoga, situated at the two ends of Lake George, were about 35 miles distant from

☞CONTINUED ON SECOND INSIDE COVER.☜

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JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER, LL. D.

M. A. Columbia College, N. Y.

Brig.-General and Brevet Maj.-General, S. N. Y.

&c. &c. &c.

APPENDIX.

The following documents are the few preserved out of near two hundred interesting papers, now irrecoverably lost. These will, however, be sufficient to evince how necessary it is that the Lake Indians, who were, with much expense and trouble, brought over from the French interest, to espouse that of the British nation, should be assiduously attended to.

The repeated applications (from the author of this volume) to the commanders-in-chief in Canada, for permission to leave the Upper District, were owing to the information he had received of lieutenant-governors having been appointed by government, under whom, he thought, he could not serve either with advantage to government, or satisfaction to himself; being confident that the Indians would have continued to look upon him as their local father, and have paid no attention to any other, which would have caused much jealousy, and great confusion, in so critical a situation, where nothing but harmony and unbounded confidence had been experienced during his long command.

The repeated applications from the traders, and deputations from the different tribes of Indians, to the commander-in-chief, were the means of his being continued in the command for the space of eleven years, until the peace was concluded, when the regiment he commanded was ordered to England; when he left the Indians so well disposed, through his unremitted endeavors to attach them to the British nation, that he flattered himself its good effects would be long experienced; and that the Americans would likewise be convinced that his earnest endeavors to instill humanity into their uncultivated minds, had not proved a fruitless attempt.

A Letter from the Commander-in-chief in Canada.

Montreal, June 25th, 1776.

Sir,—I received yesterday your letter of the 13th inst. The rebels are

driven out of this province, and I am preparing to return their visit. You may stop (1) the Indians from coming down here, at least for the present, provided you can do it without giving them offence.

Your obedient servant, GUY CARLETON.

Captain De Peyster.

A Letter from the Commander-in-Chief in Canada.

Quebec, 14th July, 1777.

SIR,—I have received your letters, by Mr. Langlade and others, on the subject of the Indians sent down from your neighborhood.

Being sensible, from the prudence and discretion with which you have conducted yourself in the command of your post, that your leaving it just in the present conjuncture would be attended with considerable inconvenience to the King's service, it is my intention that you continue at Michilimackinac, notwithstanding your appointment to the Majority of your regiment, till further orders; of which Lieutenant-Colonel Bolton is made acquainted.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant, GUY CARLETON.

Major De Peyster, Michilimackinac.

Translation of a French Letter to Messrs. Todd & M'Gill.

GENTLEMEN,—We take the liberty of requesting, that you will attend to the execution of the following commission; and as we are certain that your eminence in your profession will enable you to execute it in the best manner, so we are convinced you will not fail to bestow upon it every possible attention, not only from your regard to ourselves, but also from your esteem for the Gentleman who is more particularly interested.

As we are just going to lose our commandant, whose various acts of kindness have endeared him to us, we have resolved to make him such a present, as may be worthy of his acceptance, and not an unsuitable acknowledgement of our gratitude. We have thought that a Silver Punch Bowl, gilt on the inside, that might contain a gallon and a half, with a Silver Punch Ladle, made to correspond with the bowl, and finished in the same stile, might be such a present as we could offer him, and might serve our distinguished benefactor as a memorial of the grateful hearts he has found within the range of his command, at his post named *La Tortue* (2). You will cause a turtle to be engraved on the bottom of the bowl, and around it the following lines:—

Je me souviens, Tortue, en voyant ton image,
Que tu fus pour six ans, mon unique partage.

But if, Gentlemen, you can suggest anything emblematic of our commerce, you are at liberty to follow your own taste, as you are requested to finish the work in the most magnificent style. As to the value of the article, we presume it may amount to one hundred guineas; we do not wish, however, to

limit the price; on the contrary, we shall judge of its elegance, only by its cost. We, therefore, request you to be at the necessary expenses, which shall be punctually remitted you by those who have the honor to be,

Gentlemen, your very humble and obedient servants,

THE TRADERS OF MICHILIMACKINAC.

Michilimackinac, 20th Sept., 1779.

Arent Schuyler De Peyster Ecuyer, Lt.-Colonel du 8me, ou Regiment du Roi, commandant le poste de Michilimackinac et ses dependances, &c., &c.

MONSIEUR,—On ne concoit jamais mieux la grandeur d'un bien, que lors qu'on est à la veille d'en être privé . . . tant qu'il est sous nos yeux, nous en admirons seulement l'excellence et le prix, mais dès qu'il va disparoître, c'est alors que succèdent à l'admiration, le regret et la douleur—tels sont nos sentimens, Monsieur, admirateurs de vos exquises qualités, nous les observions dans le silence; nous nous félicitions entre nous d'avoir a notre tête une personne aussi digne que vous de cet emploi, tant par votre prudence que par vos rares talens, mais, sur le point de vous perdre, il n'est aucun de nous, qui pénétré d'un sensible regret ne dise,

Je perds en cet Homme un puissant protecteur
Il étort mon appui, il fut mon bienfaiteur,
Prudent dans ses conseils, juste dans ses desseins,
Il étendoit sur tout ses bienfaisants mains,
Au milieu des travaux consacrés à son roi.
Par bonté d'un chacun il assignoit l'emploi.
Impartial, integre dans ses jugements;
Jamais son equité ne fit des mécontens.

Nous ne serons pas plus heureux, Monsieur, dans l'eloge que meritent les excellentes qualités de Madame, que nous ne le sommes dans cette bréve exposition de celle que vous faites éclater tous les jours, puisque, comme vous, elle porte les vertus de son sexe jusqu'au degré le plus eminent, ce que nous fait dire avec verité, qu'il semble que le ciel vous ait formé tous deux pour être l'admiration de tout le monde. Penetrés de ces sentimens, nous prenons la liberté de dire

Pour louir vos vertus, Madame,
Nous avouons ingenuement,
Que les qualités de vôtre ame,
Surpassent notre jugement.
Votre douceur, votre bonté,
Vos graces, votre charité,
Sont au dessus de nos esprits,
Nous ne pouvons pas exprimer,
Nous nous contentons d'admirer,
Des qualités d'un si haut prix.

IV.

Nous ne craignons pas, Monsieur et Madame, d'être accusés de flatterie, ou d'exagération de ces foibles peintures de vos vertus les plus communes, au contraire, nous avons tout lieu d'apprehender qu'on ne nous reproche d'avoir hazardé un insipide eloge sur des qualitiés, que ne peuvent être qu'admirées ; nous prions cependant qu'en consideration des motifs qui nous ont poussés dans cette enterprize hardie, on nous pardonera cette témerité. Nous attendons de vous la même indulgence, et pour nous la concilier plus surement, nous vous protestons que ce sont les effets de la plus vive reconnoissance. C'est elle même qui nous engage encore à vous prier d' accepter Monsieur, le présent (3) que nous vous offrons comme un gâge de la sincerité de nos cœurs. Il vous sera presenté dans le lieu, qui vous est destiné. Quelques mots frappés dessus, rappeleront à votre memoire le souvenir, de ceux qui conserveront toujours votre nom gravé dans leurs cœurs par tous vos bienfaits.

En reconnoissance desquels nous avons l'honneur d'être très respectueusement, Monsieur,

Vos très humbles et très obéissans serviteurs,
Signé par JOHN ASKIN,
BENJN. LYON,
LOUIS CHABOULLIER,
HENRY BOSTWICK,
LAURENT DUCHENE, et vignt autres.

A Michilimackinac, ce 20me Sept., 1779.

To the Gentlemen Traders, and to the Post of Michilimackinac, and its Dependencies.

GENTLEMEN,—It was with the greatest pleasure and gratitude I received the compliment (4) you were pleased to make me this morning.

Your approbation of my conduct, during a long command, in the critical situation of affairs, cannot be otherwise than flattering to me. The more so, when I reflect that I have ever been steady to the various duties entrusted to me, without giving offence to individuals,—which evinces, that the post of Michilimackinac abounds in loyal subjects.

I have ever made it my study to promote the trade of this Post and its Dependencies. Happy ! could I have succeeded more to my wishes ; but I am now in hopes, from the assurances of the Indians, that trade will take a more favorable turn soon. They are determined to clear the Illenois at one stroke ; or, at least, to make the situation of the Kitchimokomans there, so disagreeable, that they must necessarily abandon further thoughts of any expedition, either against Detroit, or this Post. In the execution of which they have promised to act with humanity ; to strike none but such as appear in arms ; and, to use their own expression, spoil their lands.

I cannot take my leave, without expressing the highest sense of gratitude

for your attention to Mrs. De Peyster ; she is sensible of your politeness, and desires me to acknowledge it in her behalf.—

I have the honor to be, with great esteem, &c., Gentlemen, your most humble and much obliged servant, (Signed) A. S. De Peyster.

Michilimackinac, 20th Sept., 1779.

A Letter from the Commander-in-Chief in Canada.

Quebec, 12th June, 1779.

Sir,—I take the opportunity of an express going to Niagara, to answer a paragraph of your letter of the 2d May, expressing an inclination to be removed from your present command to that of Detroit. Nothing affords me greater pleasure than to have it in my power to oblige officers under my command, when I can do it consistently with the good of the service. But, in the present critical condition of affairs, particularly at the upper posts, where our existence almost entirely depends upon the dispositions of the Indians, I cannot view such a removal without annexing to it a probability of very bad consequences ; considering you, from every report that has been made to me, to have acquired the affections of the different nations around you, to have a perfect knowledge of the management of these people, and of the characters of the traders and motley crew, who have it in their power to tamper with, and debauch their minds. Governor Sinclair accompanied Major Holland from Halifax, but I mean to detain him here until the ships arrive from England ; after which, should circumstances alter, and that we have a prospect of tranquility, I shall readily fulfil my former promise to you ; in the meantime, I must depend upon you for the exertion of your utmost abilities in preserving the friendship of the Indians.

I have given Captain Schank orders to have the vessel you have pitched upon properly fitted up and manned, for the purpose of your communicating frequently with Detroit. I have likewise expressed my desire to Colonel Bolton, that other small vessels belonging to Detroit may, as occasion requires, be employed in the same manner.—I am, with regard, Sir, your most obedient humble servant, Fred. Haldimand.

Major De Peyster.

A Letter from the Commander-in-Chief in Canada.

Quebec, 3d July, 1779.

Sir,—In answer to your letter of the 14th past, expressing your wish to be removed from Michilimackinac, it is with pleasure I acquaint you, that I have now a prospect of having it in my power, I hope without prejudice to his Majesty's service, to comply with your request, by the arrival of Lieutenant-Governor Sinclair, whose abilities as an officer, and knowledge of the Indian nations and affairs of that communication, I am informed, qualify him for that command (5). I cannot, however, help regretting the loss of an officer, at so important a post, whose conduct during a long command, has given general satisfaction, and has justly merited, and obtained, my approbation.

I wait for the arrival of the fleet to give my orders to Captain Sinclair, but I cannot possibly determine whether it will be in my power to permit you to go to New York this season, the upper posts appearing in so critical a situation.—I am, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

FRED. HALDIMAND.

Major De Peyster.

Speech from Major De Peyster, in answer to one received from the Shawanese, sent by Lieutenant (now Sir John) Caldwell, 7th November, 1779.

CHILDREN,—It is the father from Michilimackinac speaks, who now is become your father, such is the pleasure of the general—the great man of Quebec. It is with pleasure, I heard the news of your success on the Ohio. It is a good presage on my arrival amongst you. The great spirit will favor our arms, he will give us many such successful strokes till rebellion is laid low.

Your request to have troops sent to protect your wives and children, is not at present in my power to grant. You must be sensible, that all that could be spared, were sent to assist our brethren, the Six Nations who salute you, and are gone to imitate your example—they are gone to drive the enemy from *Tioga*. Keep a good heart whilst the great spirit favors you. Accept a part of your request from my hands, whilst it is not in my power to grant the whole. To you, to the Delawares, the Mingoes, and Wiandotts, I send a proportion of ammunition and clothing; it is all I can spare at present. Clothe your women and children, and give them comfort. The enemy seeing you brave, will shun you. Be merciful to the aged, the women, and children, and the Great Spirit will favor you with the like success upon all occasions. If you take them prisoners, bring them to me,—I have use for them, and you shall be rewarded. Otherwise leave them amongst the enemy; —they have mouths, and will eat and distress their warriors, whilst they cannot hurt us; not even the male children, for this war will soon be at an end —the rebels cannot hold it long. The papers you have sent speak nothing but distress amongst them. I have a little girl with me, a white slave, and I want her mother and sister—they are with the Delawares and Munseys. Captain M'Kee (6) has power to speak to them. I will reward the owners.

Success attend your warriors, and plenty and good days be the portion of your women and children.

(Signed) A. S. DE PEYSTER,
Major to the King's Regiment, Commandant.

In Council, Detroit, 28th July, 1780.

PRESENT.

Colonel De Peyster, Commandant,
The whole of the Officers of the Garrison,

VII.

Captain Caldwell, of the corps of Rangers,
Captain Alexander M'Kee, Indian Department,
Captain La Motte, ditto,
Thos. Williams, Esq., notary public,
Du Peron Baby, Esq.—And
Issidore Chêne, Interpreters.

(*Deputed Pottawatamie Chiefs.*)

Waweyachtenon, Nescowagie, Eskeebee, Nissowaghquat, Matteseepee, Sesawagee, Wabekeen, Cameach, Osawanághquat, Nowense, and Windigo.

WAWAYACHETENON speaks.

FATHER,—I rise to speak in behalf of the Pottawatamies of this neighborhood. Father—you have not been long amongst us bare heads of the Pottawatamie tribe, but we know much of you from from our intercourse with our brethren, the Ottawas and Chippawas of Michilimackinac, and we hope you will make a long stay with us. Our brethren of St. Joseph's were in darkness until you opened their eyes, shut their ears against *bad birds*, and put them in the right road, and now they are happy. This I have from *Beddagoushack* himself. You likewise brought the Sacks, the Menomenies, and even the Scioux, to listen to you;—and you opened the trade again with the Piankeshaws, Piorias, and others, inhabiting the grounds up the Mississippi; and now that you are going to take under your protection the Shawaneese and Delawares, and other nations inhabiting the land nearer to the Big Knives, we hope your home will be near to us; and, therefore, in the name of the Pottawatamies, I here present you with a piece of that earth which you, the last winter, and since, seemed to take pleasure in visiting with your friends, when the wild beasts would listen to your music, and the rocks would repeat it, for the diversion of our children. Father—when I catch at the air, and open my hand, I find nothing therein;—but when I stand upright and balance thus, to and fro, I feel I stand upon something firm. The sample is therefore firm earth, you may stand upon it, and we give you five thousand acres (7). Father—here is the deed which we, all the deputies present, have signed with our marks of the animals and other things we take our names from. The deed is made out in the English way, and you must accept of it, with these white strings, and a belt of wampum, with a road marked on it, which, should you leave us for a while, will be your way back again. [*Here the calumet, or pipe of friendship*, was lit, and handed to the Colonel, after which, it was handed round to each present.]

CHILDREN—This unsought-for mark of your friendship overpowers me, so that I can only for the present thank you and your nation, to whom you may say, that I have accepted of this land conditionally, until it shall be confirmed to me by the British government hereafter; for although the land is your own to give, still I must not accept of such a considerable tract of

country, without the approbation of my superiors. Health and peace attend your nation, who may rest assured, that I shall be to them, what I have ever been to the Indians about Michilimackinac, a good father, whilst I find I have to deal with good children.

(*Extracted from the Minutes.*)

Extract from General Haldiman's Letter to Col. De Peyster, dated Quebec, the 6th January, 1781.

"I have received your letter of the 15th November, reporting the defeat of Mons. Le Balm, and transmitting his commission, &c. I consider this event as a very fortunate circumstance, and recommend strongly to you to study every means by which it can be improved. It was certainly the beginning of a general attack planned upon this province, which, from different intelligence I have received, I have every reason to think will be attempted in the spring against the upper posts" (8).

Major De Peyster, Commandant of Detroit and its dependancies, to the Indians of Cooshawking—12th April, 1781.

Indians of Cooshawking (9). I have received your speech, sent me by the half king of Sandusky; it contains three strings, one of them white, and the other two checkered.

You may say that you want traders to be sent to yonr village, and that you are resolved no more to listen to the Virginians, who have deceived you.

It would give me pleasure to receive you again as brothers, both for your own good, and for the friendship I bear to the Indians in general, being allied to them. But is it possible I can trust my traders amongst you, whose ears are open to every little French officer or trader who will tell you they come upon a mission from the French king? They easily make lies, and you as easily believe them. One of these people the Miamies killed, and they brought me his papers, which are the copies of letters he wrote to Philadelphia, wherein he says he found you, the Cooshawking Indians, in a council he held with some of you at Fort Pitt, such believing fools, that he amused you with words, whilst the other nations required great presents from the English. I do not want to amuse you with words, I wish for an opportunity to serve you; and it depends on yourselves to put it in my power to serve you.

Send me that little babbling Frenchman named Monsieur Linctot (10), he who poisons your ears, one of them who says he can amuse you with words only—send him to me, or be the means of my getting him, and I then will put confidence in you. I then will deal with you as with other Indians, whom I call my friends, my brothers, and my children, and to whom I request of you to give free passage, and kind entertainment. If you have not

an opportunity to bring me the little Frenchman, you may bring me some Virginian prisoner,—I am pleased when I see what you call *live meat* (11), because I can speak to it, and get information. *Scalps* serve to show you have seen the enemy, but they are of no use to me, I cannot speak with them. I request of you to give free passage to such Virginians as have a mind to speak with me—that you will not offer to stop them, but make a straight and even road for them to come to Detroit.

A. S. De Peyster.

Major De Peyster's speech to the Delawares of Cooshawking, in answer to theirs, delivered by Captain Pipe, at Lower Sandusky, the 7th June, 1781.

My Children,—You see at length I call you children (12), it is owing to the enemy that I have it in my power to do you a piece of kindness. You must not make so great a merit of a real act of necessity. I am sensible, could the Americans have supplied your wants, and had they not in the most treacherous manner butchered you, you would to this day have listened to them; you see at length, they have proved themselves like unto bad bees, they have kept the hives hidden from you, and have stung, whilst you have listened to their honey buzzing note. I have acted upon a different principle, my last speech by Simon Girty, will show you, that I have acted like a father, who sought to bring his children in the right road, for their own sake, and my present actions will confirm my good intentions towards you, since now in compassion to your distressed situation, I send a vessel with cloathing and provision, accompanied with a proportion of ammunition, to enable you jointly with your brethren, the Shawaneese and other nations, to oppose the enemy who are marching towards you. Be strong and thankful for what I now send, and you may ever afterwards look upon yourselves as my friends and allies.

Children—I speak to you in the name of the King of Great Britain, who is ever ready to assist the distressed.

Detroit, June 14th, 1781.

The above speech to be delivered by Mr. Schefflin (13), secretary to the Indian department.

Copy of a letter to his excellency General Haldimand, dated from Detroit, the 18th of August, 1782.

I am just honored with your excellency's letter of the 11th July, approving the conduct of the officers at the affair at Sandusky, and regretting the cruelty committed by some of the Indians, upon Colonel Crawford, desiring me to assure them of your utter abhorrence of such proceedings. Believe me, Sir, I have had my feelings upon this occasion, and foreseeing the retaliation the enemy would draw upon themselves from the Indians, I did every-

thing in my power to reconcile the Delawares to the horrid massacre their relations underwent at Muskingum, (14), where ninety-three of those inoffensive people were put to death, by the people from American back settlements, in cold blood; and I believe, I should have succeeded, had not the enemy so soon advanced with the intent, as they themselves declared, to exterminate the whole Wiandott tribe, not by words only, but even by exposing effigies, left hanging by the heels in every encampment.

I had sent messengers throughout the Indian country, previous to the receipt of your excellency's letter, threatening to recall the troops, if they, the Indians, did not desist from cruelty.

I have frequently signified to the Indians, how much you abhor cruelty, and I shall to-morrow despatch a person I have great confidence in, to carry your injunctions to the southern nations.

We have been alarmed here, with the accounts of a formidable body of the enemy, under the command of Gen. Hands advancing this way, which occasioned my reinforcing Captain Caldwell, and sending Captain Grant to the Miamie, with the armed vessels and gun-boats. Our scouts now report the enemy having retired. Captain Caldwell remains encamped on the banks of the Ohio, and Capt. Grant arrived here yesterday.

I have the honor to be,
With great respect,
Sir,
Your excellency's most humble and most obedient servant,
A. S. De Peyster.

His Excellency General Haldimand, Commander-in-Chief, &c.

A Letter from a Mohock War Chief.

Niagara, May 19th, 1782.

Sir,—I received your favor of the 8th instant, and return you thanks for the information. The Delawares that disappointed you, I hope you will take no notice of hereafter, as your disappointment must have been great after their faithful promises. Thirty of them are safe arrived here.

The Six Nations have not received the commander-in-chief's answer, concerning carrying on an expedition against Fort Pitt. We are at present keeping the warriors in, so that they may be in readiness in case of the enemy's approaching this way, which is not likely, and if they make an attempt on your quarter, hope we will give our little assistance, which you may assure your Indian children of. My best respects to Mrs. De Peyster, and to the officers. I am, Sir,

With regard,
Your most obedient and humble servant,
Joseph Brant,
Thayendanege.

N. B.—I am still getting the better of my wounds.

XI.

A Letter to General Haldimand.

Detroit, the 29th September, 1782.

Sir,—I have the honor to inform your excellency, that I have given Lieut.-Col. Hope, and Sir John Johnson, every information they required. My list of Indian officers and others employed, may appear large, but then it is fluctuating, the enemy take off some, and most of the others employed by me, cease to be employed at the end of a campaign. Lieut.-Col. Hope, and Sir John, have been eye witnesses to the strait I have been put to, with respect to the Indian presents not arriving in time, I have made every shift in my power, and if we are not supplied soon, I shall not know what to do; the Indians are really become troublesome, a disagreeable prelude to what must soon happen. I have been advised to exchange tobacco with Capt. Robertson, for the article of strouds (15), I am ready to do it, but circumstances have prevented my sending a vessel to Michilimackinac, and I hope to be supplied from below, before I can exchange with Capt. Robertson;—he shall nevertheless have the articles proposed from this place, as I understand he will want them.

Lieut.-Col. Hope took with him the intelligence I received from the Indian country, the day he left Detroit, and will, before this reaches Quebec, have information your excellency of the step I have taken in consequence thereof. Should the Rangers be obliged to retreat (which from the sickness amongst them may be very probable), or should Mr. Clarke from the other quarter, push the Shawaneese, Capt. Potts will be well situated to cover their retreat, till they can be reinforced from all quarters. I have a very difficult card to play at this post and its dependencies, which differs widely from the situation of affairs at Michilimackimac, Niagara, and others, in the upper district of Canada. It is evident, that the back settlers will continue to make war upon the Shawaneese, Delawares, and Wyandotts, even after a truce shall be agreed to, between Great Britain and her revolted colonies; in which case, whilst we continue to support the Indians with troops (which they are calling aloud for), or only with arms, ammunition, and necessaries, we shall incur the odium of encouraging incursions into the back settlements; for it is as evident, that when Indians are on foot, occasioned by the constant alarms they receive from the enemy's entering their country, they will occasionally enter the settlements, and bring off prisoners and scalps, so that whilst in alliance with a people we are bound to support, a defensive war, will, in spite of human prudence, almost always terminate in an offensive one.

These matters considered, I hope your excellency will urge the necessity of the back settlers holding out the olive branch, instead of setting on foot one expedition after another, declaring on their setting out, that their intentions are to exterminate the whole savage tribe. I wait with impatience to hear from your excellency, and in the meantime, I shall continue to discour-

age small parties as much as possible, and endeavor in every respect, to act for the honor of the British nation.

I am with the greatest respect, Sir,
Your excellency's
Most humble and most obedient servant,
A. S. De Peyster,

His excellency the Commander-in-Chief in Canada.

In Council, Detroit, April 24th, 1783.

PRESENT.

Major A. S. De Peyster, Commandant,
Captain W. Caldwell, corps of Rangers,
Lieut. Bennett, King's regiment,
Lieut. Mercer, ditto,
Lieut. Brooks, ditto,

Messieurs D. Baby, S. Chêne, W. Tucker, and P. Druilliard, Interpreters.

Shawaneese and Cherokees, a deputation to the Western nations, Hurons, Ottawas, Chippoweys, and Pouttеauwatomies.

Mis, qu, a, ku, ni, gaw,—a Shawneese speaks on several white wampum strings.

Brethren,—The Hurons, Ottawaas, Chippoweys, and Pouttеauwatomies, listen to us, the deputies from the Shawaneese country, we are come to remind you of the losses which we and you have, from time to time, sustained in the war; and, at the same time, we condole with you, agreeable to our ancient custom. We were also desired to clear your eyes, and open your ears, that you may at all times see and hear what our father may have to say to you, as he acts for the general good.

(*Delivers the several strings.*)

Major de Peyster then addressed the nations present.

Children,—Of the several nations, I salute you all in the name of the Commander-in-chief, as there were many amongst you who were desirous to know his sentiments, I therefore request of you to open your ears and be attentive.

Children and Brothers,—The Governor at Quebec has desired me to address you as he has done the Six Nations. He sincerely participates and condoles with the Shawanese for their late misfortune, as much as if they were his own flesh and blood; and he says, he will also consider his Indian children in that light, while they continue their attachment and fidelity to their Great Father, mutual with us to support his and their own interests. He had very good reasons to withold you from going into the enemy's country last autumn, and he has the same reasons yet. Your Great Father is willing to give peace to his enemies, and they are about settling matters.

The general, therefore, desires you to remain quiet until he can hear from the King. At the same time that he desires you to remain quiet, he recommends to you to be watchful and on your guard, for though the people of the colonies are also withheld as well as us, there are some who are settled on the lower part of the Ohio, that may still be troublesome to you, but believe you have nothing to apprehend from Fort Pitt, as they are under laws which the settlers on the Ohio pay no regard to; he is, nevertheless, in hopes to bring these people to reason,—but should they, in the meantime, come against your country, he will give you all the assistance in his power.

Should he send troops with you into their country, it would be difficult to bring about a general peace: he desires you to make this distinction, that you shall, nevertheless, be assisted with troops, should they come into your country.

The general says he has represented, in the strongest terms, the infamous conduct of the enemy's attack upon your villages, and he hopes it will be the means of preventing such in future.

Children—The English and you have gone hand in hand, and have acquired glory;—we, therefore, entreat you not to tarnish the actions which have distinguished us, by revenging yourselves for any losses you may have sustained, on the defenceless old men, women, and children; at least to suspend your just resentment, until we hear the King's determination respecting the war, and until the general can hear the effect his representation may have had. Children—You will find his hands loose, and his arms ready to support you in the defence of your country.—His heart will, on the same occasion, be open to supply your wants during the war. You must be sensible that last autumn, when he learnt your distress, he ordered a regiment to your assistance, which wintered on the communication, and shall remain ready at call. He begs that you may not think hard that you dld not receive the supply of goods; it was an accident which prevented it, but they are on the way up to you, and he will take every precaution to endeavor to prevent future disappointments. The exorbitant price of goods at the upper posts, and the quantity wanted to supply the numerous nations, induced him to order them from England, and the late arrival of the fleet last year, occasioned the disappointment.

(*Delivers several strings of wampum to each nation.*)

Mis, qu, a, ku, ni, gaw,—A Shawaneese says:

FATHER,—We, the deputies from the Shawneese country, accept of the speech which you have delivered to us, from our father, the great chief at Quebec, with much pleasure, and shall carry it to our people, who we know will receive it with equal satisfaction.

Deyentete, a Huron chief of Detroit, says:

FATHER,—The speech which you have delivered to this assembly has given us pleasure, and we give you our thanks.

XIV.

He then addressed himself to the Shawaneese.

BRETHREN, THE SHAWANEESE,—We return you many thanks for your speech of condolence. It is true we have lost some of our friends in this war, for which we were much troubled in mind, but you have now cleared our eyes and ears, so that everything we have heard and seen in our father's house has given general satisfaction.

Copy from the Minutes. J. SCHIEFFELIN, *Secretary.*

[*Translated from the French.*]

To Arent Schuyler De Peyster, Lieutenant-Colonel, Commandant at Detroit.

SIR,—The captains and officers of the militia belonging to the southern part of the river Detroit, no less grieved at your departure, than uneasy at the uncertain prospect that opens to their view, have the honor to present you with their best and sincerest wishes that your voyage may be prosperous.

As the organs of a people who, under your command, have always shown themselves steady, loyal, and submissive, they reassure you of the regret the people feel at your removal, and their grateful sense of your kindness towards them on many occasions.

Being witnesses of your foresight in providing for the public good, by furnishing provisions during the year of scarcity,—the undersigned are bound to give their voluntary testimony to your wise and prudent conduct, and to affirm that, in the critical situation in which you then stood, the measures you adopted, which reflect no less honor upon your humanity, than they showed your zeal for the good of the government, served not only to increase the attachment and loyalty of the great body of the people, but also to bring back and confirm those whose minds were wavering and totally estranged.

You, Sir, depart—and we remain uncertain whether the prospect that is to open before us, is to prove happy or unhappy; but you will not forget those who have, on all occasions, given you proofs of their fidelity; and whose attachment to the service and to the crown shall always be constant and sincere.

Heaven grant to our favorable prayers to remove far from you whatever should destroy the satisfaction which you are to receive, from the approbation which you have gained by those rare qualities which distinguish you, and shall render you illustrious in the mother country, and dear to the hearts of those who have the honor to be, with grateful respect,

Sir,

Your very humble and obedient servants,

(Signed) MAISONVILLE,
GUILLAUME MONFORTON,
FRANCOIS DROUIJARD,
BAUME.

On the Southern Bank of the River Detroit, 30th May, 1784.

XV.

Grand River, May 30th, 1785.

Dear Sir,—We, the Mohocks, and the rest of the Five Nations, who are settling on this river, request of Colonel De Peyster to order Mr. Stephens, the interpreter, to come up to the head of the Lake Ontario, or to Captain Lottrige's place, without any delay, for there is evil fire kindling among the Messisaguas. We therefore wish much to have his assistance to put out this fire before it gets too strong. We cannot tell how it came that these Messisaguas got to be so unreasonable lately, whether it is from the rebels, or from the devil ;—it must come from one of the two.

On this occasion, we mean to have a council at the head of the Lake. We are sure the Colonel will do his best about this matter, because he must know better than we do, that should we the Indians happen to differ from each other, and our new settlement be overset, it would be everything the rebels wish—nothing would make them more happy than this. The commissioners of congress did complain very much, last fall of the leaf, of our coming here, and did everything to oppose it—for which reason, we think, there is no time to lose,—for we should never let our enemies have any success if we can help it. We hope the Colonel will not think it is fear makes us ask his assistance so earnestly, though we are but a handful, and we don't like that the cursed rebels or *Yankeys* should have such mouths to preach among the other Indian nations, in hopes to disappoint our wishes to remain in the Englsh limits, which those Yankees cannot bear.

Joseph Brant, Thayendanege.

To Colonel De Peyster, &c., &c.
Commandant of Niagara and the Upper District of Canada.

Niagara, 25th June, 1785.

Address of the Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations, assembled in council, to Lieutenant-Colonel De Peyster, commanding the Upper Posts, Lakes, &c., &c.

The Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations, being informed that Colonel De Peyster, with the King's Regiment, is preparing to depart from this post, wish to assure him in particular, and the gentlemen of the regiment in general, that they will ever preserve the most grateful remembrance of his past conduct to them, not only since his arrival at this post, but on many former occasions, whilst he commanded at Detroit. The uninterrupted friendly intercourse which has constantly subsisted between them and the gentlemen of the King's Regiment, and the many acts of kindness they received from them, have made the deepest impressions on them, and they look forward to the moment of their departure with unfeigned regret. They therefore beg leave to express to the Colonel, and gentlemen, their sincere wishes that they may have a safe and pleasant passage to England ; where, they make no doubt,

they will meet with that gracious reception, which their long services and exemplary conduct in this country, so justly entitle them to.

(Signed) JOSEPH BRANT, Thayendanege.
DAVID HILL, Haronghyontye.
ISAAC HILL, Anonghsoktea.

Signed for themselves and the Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations.

Fort Niagara, 26th June, 1785.

Colonel De Peyster, for himself and the officers of the King's Regiment, is very much pleased with the address from the Chiefs and Warriors of the Six Nations, and in return for their kindness, unite themselves heartily in wishing them a lasting peace, attended with every other blessing. The Colonel further assures them, he leaves the upper district with the loyalist Rangers (now a reduced military corps), whom he has settled at the head of the Lake, and on the Chippawa, together with his Indian children and brothers, with the greatest regret: That he will never forget their attachment, and begs of his good friend, *Thayendanege*, to send, in his name, belts of white wampum to his friends the chiefs of the Shawaneese towns *Chillicothekie* and *Waaketamakie*, and to the Hurons of Sandusky, to assure the Half-King *Orotondie*, the *Snake*, and *Mis, qu, a, ku, ni, gaw*, that they will not forget their promise to continue as firm as the oak, and as deep as the waters, in the cause of the King of Great Britain, and that they will bring up their youth in the same sentiments, stopping their ears to the croaking of bad birds, lest they become an easy prey to their enemies.—Health, &c.

NOTES.

(1.) p. I. This was done through great exertion, although at the risk of the Captain's life.

(2) p. II. The Turtle. [The turtle or tortoise engraved upon the obverse of the bowl, the "Big Turtle," was the *totem* or device of the Indian tribe in the district or locality of Michilimackinac, now written Mackinac, which is the title of a county in Michigan, on the East part of the Upper Peninsula, bordering on the lake which gives the name to the State and to the straits which separate the upper from the *lower* peninsula. Michilimackinac is the Indian word signifying Tortoise or rather the "Big Turtle," and refers, it is said, to the shape of the island. It is a somewhat remarkable coincidence that the shield of one of the Counts de Pester (Peijster), according to Goethal's *Dictionnaire des Familles Nobles de Belgique*, displays the same effigy.—EDITOR.]

(3) p. IV. A silver bowl, which cost one hundred and twenty guineas. [A picture of this magnificent bowl is presented opposite page 562 of Valentine's "Manual of the Common Council of New York" for 1861.—The legend beneath is ridiculous, because its falsity can be discovered from the inscription on the bowl itself in the lithograph, easily to be read with a magnifying glass. The description of this bowl appears on pages 574 and 575 of the same Manual, and is referred to in the biography of Colonel De Peyster. Some one totally ignorant of the facts took upon himself to place legends under all the pictures connected with the De Peyster article, and every one is altogether wrong.—EDITOR.]

(4) p. IV. The bowl mentioned in the preceding letter and address. [It is said that Col. De Peyster never saw this bowl. Perhaps it was on board of a vessel coming out from England, which was captured by a Yankee privateer, and afterwards, in a strange, roundabout way, came into the possession of the Colonel's nephew and namesake, Captain A. S. De Peyster, where the writer saw it and had it photographed.—EDITOR.]

(5) p. V. The Major was not allowed to leave the upper posts until five years after, when the regiment being ordered to England, they could keep him no longer.

(6) p. VI. Capt. M'Kee, the superintendent of Indian affairs, accompanied Lieut. Caldwell, and was charged with a speech to the Delawares, Munseys, and other nations. The mother and sister of Miss Mary West were soon sent in, in consequence of this message. By such means Colonel De Peyster got above three hundred prisoners out of the hands of the Indians (even some who had been adopted, which never was done before), clothed and provisioned them, and employed the men in the King's works, and the women he set to spinning and other useful employments.

(7) p. VII. The peace concluded soon put this part of the country into the hands of the United States of America, and the Colonel has nothing more to show for the solidity of his land than a piece of parchment, signed with hieroglyphical characters. [To show with what injustice American history is written when a loyalist is concerned, this grant is stigmatized in a work on the State of Michigan, as illegal, &c. It is but just to say it is impossible from the character of the author of that work that he was aware of the facts connected with the grant, because if he had been, he could never have written what he did. Any one who reads the record, and possesses the slightest appreciation of equity, must see that this gift was a spontaneous testimonial of the affection borne to Colonel De Peyster by the Indians as much as was the presentation of the magnificent punch bowl.—EDITOR.]

(8) p. VIII. It was accordingly attempted on the 4th of June, [1781], when, through the measures taken by Col. De Peyster, the enemy was defeated and totally routed with great loss, which put an end to General Washington's attempt to force the post of Detroit. Le Balm's watch, set with diamonds, his double-barrelled gun, spurs, regimentals, sword, and some valuable papers, were brought to Col. De Peyster by an Indian.

(9) p. VIII. The Major had not yet adopted the Delawares as his children.

(10) p. VIII. [See first line, last verse, page 9, Supra.—EDITOR.]

(11) p. IX. Prisoners—styled so by the Indians.

(12) p. IX. These Indians were the last the Major brought over to the British interest, by taking off the petticoat, to use their own figurative expression, the Shawaneese had thrown over them for former cowardice.

(13) p. IX. [Grandfather of gentlemen of that name now living in the City of New York, a personal friend of Gen. Henry Hamilton, at that time Lieut.-Gov. of Detroit, afterwards Governor of Dominica, W. I.—EDITOR].

(14) p. X. Ninety-three killed in cold blood, as they were dragged out of the church.

(15) p. XI. [Strouds. *Strouding*, a coarse kind of cloth used in the American Indian trade.—McKENNEY.]

☞ The Editor is indebted to Hon. DOUGLAS BRYMNER, Archivist, among other courtesies, for "Reports on Canadian Archives" for 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885 and 1886, which contain many references and relations in regard to Col. A. S. De P. Mr. Brymner wrote, 4th February, 1888: "You will find as an evidence of the statement that Colonel Arent [S. De Peyster] enjoyed the confidence of his superiors, that on his remonstrating against being kept so long at Michilimackinac, he was answered that it required a man of superior abilities to be there, and that no one was to be found at the time fit to succeed him at a post, the safe keeping of which was of so much importance." ☜

VOCABULARY.

WORDS SELECTED FROM THE OTTAWA AND CHIPPAWA LANGUAGES.

God .....Kitchi Monitou.
The Devil .....Matchi Monitou.
The Sky.... ...Waquing.
Light .....Wasaya.
Darkness .....Debecat.
Sun .....Kesis or Gezis.
Moon .....Debekesis.
A Star.....Anang.
Air ....Geghick.
Heat .....Geshate.
Earth .....Akie.
Flame .....Geteamond.
Smoke .....Naquoin.
A Cloud .....Anaquet.
Rainbow .....Anaquoin.
Lightning .....Wawassan.
Thunder.....Nemikee.
Wind .....Notin.
A Storm.....Kitchi Notin.
Rain .....Kemewan.
Snow .....Coon.
Frost .....Muskawakamegoutin.
A Brook.....Wawasem.
A River.....Zeebie.
A Lake.....Kitchi Gamin.
Ice .....Miquam.
Salt .....Sactagan.
A Hill.....Piquadina.
A stone .....Assin.
A rock .....Agalin.
An island .....Minising.
Spring.....Menocomenk.
Summer .....Nepink.
Autumn .....Saquageek.
Winter .....Pepoon.
A day .....Tibick.
Morning .....Waban.
Evening .....Anaguasheek.
Night .....Tibicop.
A month.....Peshik Kesis.
To-day .....Nungum.
Yesterday .....Pitchenago.
To-morrow .....Wabunck.
Now .....Nunquam.
Never .....Keeweekaw.
Perhaps .....Canebath.
Yes .....Aneenda.
No.....Caw, or Ka.
Where .....Tanapee.
Too much .....Tanemeeneek.
A little .....Bungeg.
Ejaculation of surprise..Taya.
To sing.....Nagan.
War .....Nantobali.
Warriors.....Nantobalichi.
Peace .....Pecca.

Bow and Arrow..Metlicanouins.
One.....Pechick.
Two.....Niche.
Three.....Niswa.
Four.....Niauw.
Five.....Namin.
Six ....Gutawasway.
Seven.....Nesewaswee.
Eight .....Shaesway.
Nine.....Shonk.
Ten.....Michtasway.
Twenty.....Mischtona.
One more .....Mmowa.
White.....Wabaseaw.
Black .....Muckada.
Yellow .....Waswaw.
Green .....Askepat.
Red.....Misqua.
Blue .....Monitto.
Silver .....Shoonin,
Iron .....Pewabick.
Copper..... ...Musquabou.
Lead.....Anowee.
A Tree.....Metig.
Grass.....Mepish.
An Eagle .....Megeezee.
A Hawk.....Muskemawgay.
An owl.....Cocoko.
A crow .....Cacagishens.
A cock .....Papagnay.
A hen .....
Eggs.....Waween.
A swan. .....Wabesee.
A goose .....Nekaw.
A partridge .....Pennai.

A turkey .....Messesey.
A duck .....Shesheb.
A pigeon .....Mimi.
A blackbird .....Segenake.
A robin .....Opitchie.
A snipe .....Bakshachinch.
A porcupine.....Kak.
A beaver (1).....Amink.
An otter .....Nekig.
A fox .....Wagoush.
A hare .....Waboos.
A martin.....Wabasang.
A bear.....Mucquaw.
A deer.....Wawashkiss.
An elk.....Meskie.
A tyger cat.....Carkajeux.
A carriboo .....Atick.
A hog .....Cocoosh.
A dog .....Animoushk.
A Trout .....Namegis.
A Sturgeon.....Nume.
A White-fish.....Adickumeng.
A Pickerell.....Oga.
A Pike .....Genosh.
Fish in general ...Kigone.
My Father .....Nossa.
Your Father.....Gesenan.
His Father.....Osan.
Mother .....Eninga.
A Giant .....Windigo.
Man .....Nunee.
Woman .....Ichquois.
A Male.....Yabé.
Female .....Quaaya.
A Young Man ...Skinigis.

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(1) An Indian having told the interpreter that an evil spirit, in the form of a white beaver, had appeared to him whilst asleep in the great Beaver Island, which desired of him to repair to Michilimackinac, there to take his stand at the corner of the storehouse, and kill the commandant as he passed that way;—that he took his stand accordingly, for several days, but had not the heart to strike the fatal blow, and therefore hoped he might be forgiven, and sent out of the country—which Col. De Peyster, the Commandant, refused, but ordered him to go and winter in that island, and kill and bring him the skin of that *amink waubascaw* (white beaver) which had appeared to him. This the Indian accordingly performed, and the Colonel has the skin in his possession at present.

Young woman...Adiquag.
An infant .....Papoos.
A little boy .....Kausanse.
Brother.....Chemin.
A friend .....Nekanis.
An officer.....Okemaw.
A soldier .....Shcmogenash.
An Englishman..Saguinash.
A Frenchman ...Musticoos.
A Spaniard .....Spagnole.
An American ....Kitchi Mokoman.
A trader .....Guttawa Neenie.
A blanket.....Wawbawaon.
A shirt .....Puckawaan.
A breech-cloth for small clothes ..Asscian.
Leggings .....Micktaws.
Deer-skin shoes..Mockesins.
A mirror .....Quabimo.
A skin .....Weon Wagan.
Life .....Pimadiskie.
Death .....Nepau.
A bed .....Nepaiwine.
Sleep .....Neban.
To laugh .....Bappe.
Pain .....Nebo.
A wound.....Kitchiquinilissum.
Blood .....Missowee.
The doctor.....Miskiki Ninni.
A knife .....Mokoman.

A bottle .....Amoscade.
A glass .....Tibiglans.
A spoon .....Amiquhan.
A kettle .....Akik.
A bowl .....Onagan.
A canoe . .....Chemon.
A paddle .....Abowey.
A batteau .....Mitchi Chiman.
A ship..... ....Nabaquoin.
A war-club.....Bogomagan.
A sword .....Showesta.
A gun .....Paskisagan.
Powder .....Muckaday.
Shot .....Puckawan.
A tomahawk ....Wagaquit.
A pipe .....Pagun.
Tobacco.....Seman.
Indian corn .....Mandamen.
Bread .....Pequa Ashegan.
Meat .....Weeas.
Fat .....Pimita.
A bone .....Okan.
Venison .....Waaskas.
Mutton .....Manitanis Weas.
Beef.....Peshekeeweas.
Sugar .....Sissobaquet.
Toddy.....Shoomenabon.
Rum .....Scutawaba.
Wine.....Misquagomic.

☞ This specimen will be sufficient to tire the reader, as much as it has done the author to have recollected so many words, after having been so many years absent from his Ottawa, and Chippawa friends. The *Algonquins* speak nearly the same language.

APPENDIX BY THE EDITOR.*

DETROIT, the 2nd Nov., 1779.

SIR:

Your letter to Captain Lernoult was delivered to me by Mr. Surphlet. Capt. Lernoult releived by me, set out this morning for Niagara.

I heartily congratulate you on the success Messrs. Gertys and Elliot (1), on the Ohio, the stroke will no doubt be severely felt at Pitsburg.

I am sorry at not having it in my power to comply with the demand of the Indians in sending troops to the Shawanee town. Was Capt. Caldwell's Rangers (2) here it should be done. I shall however comply with their request in what relates to Clothing, Amunition, and for which purpose I will dispatch the Adventurer, with a cargo to be divided amongst the Wiandots, the Shawanees, Delawares, and Mingoes (3).

Which I must request of you to see divided at least the Proportion to the different nations, in order to prevent Jealousy.

I send strings of Wampum, which I most earnestly request of you to cause to be delivered to the Monsey Indians desiring them to bring in or to deliver up to you a woman named Peggy West. She was taken above a twelve month ago within twelve miles of Fort Pitt the other side of it near the widow Miers. Her husbands name was Isaac West. You will please to send the other string to the Delawares, for her daughter a girl of about eleven years of age named Nancy taken at the same time. The circumstances will be remembered by the Indians, as the Father was killed and the Mother and two Daughters divided. One of the Girls of Twelve Years old lived with a Delaware whose name she thinks is Noughboughhallen, this latter was lately brought in and delivered up to Capt. Lernoult. She is now with my wife,

If Sir! It be possible to find the Mother and the other Sister, I will not

* A large amount of information has been published in regard to Col. Arent Schuyler de Peyster in various works to be hereinafter cited, of which the aggregate is too extensive for reproduction in this book. These letters, however, have not been printed. They are copies from originals, following, in the hands of the heirs of Col. Daniel Claus, a loyalist, who married Nancy, eldest daughter of Sir William Johnson, Bart., and served for a considerable time in the British or Canadian Indian Department under Colonel Guy Johnson, who married Mary, youngest and the other daughter of Sir William, and succeeded his father-in-law as Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, that dignity having been refused by Sir William's only son and heir, Brig.-Gen. John Johnson, Knight and Baronet, who married the lovely "Polly Watts," grand-aunt of the Editor. These copies were obtained through the courteous assistance of Hon. Josiah Burr Plumb, Senator, Speaker of the Senate of Canada, and of William Kirby, Esq., of Niagara, Ontario Co., Canada. The originals, it is said, have been purchased by the Dominion of Canada and placed in the Archives at Ottawa.

spare Expense, please therefore to employ some active people to go in search of them assuring the Indians of a good Price and my grateful acknowledgements.

The news lately received from Niagara is that Sir John Johnson (4), Col. Guy Johnson (5) and Major Buttler (6), with one thousand Indians, and a body of troops with artillery are gone to attack the Enemy [under Sullivan] at Sheoga.

The Western Nations about Michilimakinac are well disposed and will act with Vigor against the Illenois.

The Hurons are returned from Niagara. Sasterratyee has brought belts from the five Nations, for the Cherokees, Chacktaws &c. &c. desiring them never to make peace with the King's Enemies until his Majesty shall require it. Some Cherokees being present, are charged with those belts.

I shall dispatch the sloop for Sandusky in four days at furthest.

I am Sir
With due reguard
Your most Humb.
& obedt servt.
AT. S. DE PEYSTER,
Major.

To Captain McKEE (7), Shawnatown.

DETROIT, the 5 Dec., 1779.

SIR:

I take the opportunity of two Shawanees to acquaint you that Capt. Caldwell is returned from Sheoga to Niagara, and reports that Sullivan (8) and his army abandoned that Fort with the greatest precipatation on receiving an Express from Washington. A rumour prevails that their Grand Army has been beaten by Sr Harry Clinton (9). The rebels left above Eight hundred head of Cattle at Sheoga (10), which the five Nations will secure.

The Inclosed paper will give you pleasure as well as to all his Majesty faithful Subjects with you. It is an undisputable fact.

Excuse the hurry I am in the Indians on the point of going off and many affairs crowding upon me.

I am Sir
Your Most Obed. Sert.
AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

To Capt. McKEE.

SIR:

I wrote to you some time ago, acquainting you with the Rebels having abandon'd their Fort at Sheoga, with great precipitation, St. George Collier had destroyed the rebel fleet (11). I now take the earliest opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your intelligence by the Cherokee for which I am much obliged to you. I dispatch it to-morrow for Niagara, when I shall strongly

represent the necessity of some light troops in this neighborhood. I make not the least doubt, but you will do your utmost to baffle the designs of the Enemy upon all occasions. The General will no doubt regret the loss of so able a person as you to this Upper Country, and I dare say would be glad if you would change your mind with regard to your Voyage to Europe for some time longer.

Please to excuse the brevity of this letter being afflicted with a severe pain in my side.

I am Sir
Your Most Obed.
Humb. Servt.
A. S. De Peyster.

To Capt. McKee.
2d Jany, 1780.

Detroit, the 17 Feby, 1780.

Sir:

The Shawaneess, Mingoes and Delawares having asked for Troops to act in conjunction against the Enemy, lays me under the indispensable necessity of requesting that you will defer your Voyage to Europe, till some more favourable opportunity, knowing that the uncommon influence you have with those nations, particularly the Shawanees, will be a great means of furthering His Majestys Service, and preventing cruelties to Prisoners (12), many instances of which you have already given, much to your honour.

I will be glad to see you to-morrow Morning, when we can speak more fully upon this subject.

I am Sir
Your Most Humb. &
Obedt. Servt.
A. S. De Peyster.

To Capt. McKee.

Detroit, the 4th April, 1780.

Sir:

You are to set off immediately for the Shawanees towns (13), where as soon as the Indians can be assembled agreeable to their Promise in Council, you must conduct them [then] to the place of rendevous fixed upon by Capt. Bird and yourself from whence the whole will march to act in conjunction for the good of his Majestys Service.

You may assure the Indians from me that Capt. Bird will do his utmost to destroy some of the Forts (14) they so much complain of, provided they act like men with spirit. Otherwise he has my orders to return to this post Immediately, being well aware that the few men with him are not sufficient to do it alone.

You must also acquaint the Indians, that the Provisions sent is for the troops only. To have sent more would be the means of retarding the enter-

prise. The Indians must therefore not only maintain themselves but they must also contribute to the support of the troops, who are by their own request sent to their assistance.

Powder, Ball, flints and paint—I have sent in plenty, being the articles absolutely necessary for warriors. If they want Goods, they must come here and fetch them when the affair is over.

You will do well to purchase some able packhorses, and to encourage the Indians to send a number sufficient to assist in transporting the cannon over the Carrying place.

Every person employed in the Indian department upon this enterprise, are hereby ordered to obey such orders as they shall occasionally receive from you, undertaking nothing of themselves or by any other order, unless they come from Capt. Bird.

As there is no time for consulting, I have no other Speech to make to my friends and Children, the Indians, than to assure them of my friendship, and to desire that they will loose no time in showing the way to some of the Forts, in order to give my Cannon the opportunity of leveling the Pickets.

Give me leave to add my best wishes for your Health and Success.

I am Sir
Your Most Humb. and Obed.
Sert.
A. S. De Peyster,
Major to the King's
Regt.
Commanding
Detroit, &c.

To Capt. Alex. McKee.

Sir:

In Case of any unforseen accident happening to Captain Bird, so as to prevent his Commanding the expedition—This is to order the Officer who may succeed him in the command of the troops, not to undertake any enterprize without consulting you, and first obtaining your concurrence therein.

Given at Detroit this 8th day of May, 1780.

A. S. De Peyster,
Commanding.

To Alexr. McKee, Esq.
Agent for Indian Affairs,
&c. &c. &c. &c.

Detroit, 8 May, 1780.

Dr. Sir:

I must request of you to give the inclosed a place in your Pocketbook for fear of accidents. You will please to Inform every one in your Department that I expect they will pay the strictest attention to orders, and

exert themselves upon every occasion. They must know that taking a few scalps is not the object of the present enterprise.

If Mr. Elliot is with you please to give our Compts. to him, also remember me to the Chiefs and Warriors.

Mrs. D. P. and your friends here desire to join in Compts. to you, wishing you Success and a speedy return.

This letter will be followed in two days by Egoustwa and a large band of Ottawas, one of Chippawas, and one of Pottawatamies.

I have the Honour
to be Sir
Your
Most Obed.
Sert.

To ALEX. MCKEE, Esqr. A. S. DE PEYSTER.

DETROIT, the 22 June, 1780.

DEAR SIR:

I am favoured with your letter of the 4th June. It gives me pleasure to hear that the Indians were assembling so fast, and in such numbers.

There certainly must be some mistake with regard to the Hurons. As I am confident there does not remain any either at Sandusky or here except the aged, and part of them are gone to war, but the Hurons have taken a different route towards Fort Pit, which perhaps will be of as much, if not more Service to Captain Bird than if they had joined you.

The deputation from the Six Nations arrived safe here. Kayashota seeing that no General Council could be held on account of the Nations being gone to war left the belts and Speech with the Hurons, to deliver to the different Nations as occasion should offer. It consists of 4 belts containing 24 Thousand Wampum—requesting all the Indians to hold firm to the General Alliance with the King of Great Britain, denouncing bad luck to such as shall separate therefrom.

Mrs. De Peyster and the gentlemen of the King's Regt. (15) join in Compts. to you and all friends.

I must request that you will remember me to my Indian Children and assure them that they shall find me a good friend if they go thro' with the work in hand with becoming patience and fortitude. The old story of Humanity to Prisoners (16), I am convinced you will loose no opportunity to inculcate.

I am Dr. Sir
Sincerely Your Humb. & Obed. Sert.

To ALEX. MCKEE, Esq. A. S. DE PEYSTER.

XXVI.

21 July, 1780.

Dr Sir:

This is only to acquaint you that Mr. Surphlet (17) and Shetrei (18) [Shehei?] takes my boat to meet you at the roche de bout (19). With him I send Six half Barrels of Pork and fifteen bags of flour, to be sent up to roche de bout for Capt. Bird, till I can send a Vessel. This exclusive of what provisions they take for you, &c.

As I shall soon see you, I shall defer my Congratulations till that happy moment. I am Sir,

Your humb. servt,

To Capt. McKee. At. S. De Peyster.

Detroit, the 8th Sept., 1780.

Dear Sir:

I did myself the pleasure of writing to you by George Girty's Companion the Young Delaware, sending back the Belt with a Speech.

Nothing material has occurred since—Yet I cannot let slip this favourable opportunity of assuring you of my good wishes.

If it is possible to obtain C. Kidder's wife, [from the Indians?] and the remainder of his children, you will do me an infinite pleasure—

Mrs. De Peyster and the Gentlemen Join In Compliments to you and the Gentlemen with you.

I am Dr Sir,

Your Humble & Obed. Servt.,

Alex. McKee, Esqr. At. S. De Peyster.

Detroit, February 1st, 1781.

Dr Sir:

Since the affair at the Miamis (20) something similar happened at St. Josephs—the Prisoners brought in are all Canadians except one Brady, who stiles himself a Superintendant by the Commission of Helm.—Brady says that they were sent by the Creoles, to plunder St. Josephs and they inform me that there is not a Virginian in all the Illinois Country nor even at Post Vincient—The Snake has been here a considerable time, waiting as he says for you—He took his leave about a week ago but returned here for some provisions which gave me the favourable opportunity of charging him with Joshuat Still and John N[W?]arrisan the former a Delaware and the latter a Shawanee who had been tampering with the Prisoners and a number of the sailors to carry them off to the Rebels. I was under the necessity of confining these two men till I could come at the truth of the matter—This rash step of the Prisoners obliges me to confine all except those who have families. A Drunken Indian named Washington attempted to stab the Snake, but luckily missed him and stabbed his son, he immediately after that stabbed a

squaw—I hope it is nothing extraord'y keeps you out as I heard once you was coming into Detroit—I should be glad to hear from you whenever an opportunity offers provided you are not coming in yourself—I have been laid up this fortnight with a Sprained Ancle and not likely to get the Better.

Mrs. De Peyster and the Gentlemen of the King's [Regt.] desire their Compliments to you.

I am Dear Sir Your
Most Obed'nt Servant,

Capt. McKee. At. S. De Peyster.

Detroit, 25 June, 1781.

Dear Sir:

I received your letter inclosing mine, directed to Capt. Thompson (21)—I hope by the time you receive this he will be at Laurimus's (22). Here are a number of letters for his division which I have thought best to forward to you as you will soon have an opportunity of sending to him.—Four Ships arrived from England from the 12th to the 20th May, they confirm the news from Virginia and the accounts of the Dutch—Gen'l Clarke is coming to Canada with some troops, it is not known how many, he is to succeed Mr. Cramahe—

Your friends here all join in Compliments to you.—

I am
Sir,
Your Humb.
& Obed. Sert.,
At. S. De Peyster.

Detroit, the 21 July, 1781.

Dear Sir:

I am favoured with your letter by Surphlet who seems very impatient to get back to you—The Hurons left this yesterday and in two or three days Mr. Chene will move with the Ottawas, Chippawas, Pottawatamies, &c.—I shall send the little Sloop Adventurer to Rocke de Bont with provisions, and some clothing for the warriors. Mr. Laurimus I am told spares you one thousand lbs. of powder in case of necessity. I am anxious to hear if the intelligence you received of the Enemy's motions are confirmed or not. If they are in motion the Indians may be assured from the News we have from below that they will have no Enemy to oppose but the inhabitants of Kentuck, unless Clark should bring 50 or an hundred with him. I make not the least doubt but you recommend strongly to the Indians to stick together.—[☞] The little war is by no means the thing—Please to give my Compliments to Captain Thompson and tell him that I have sent Provisions to the rocke de bout of which his People will have a Share, they must however send for it there.

XXVIII.

I am so very ill with the Head-Ache at present that I have it not in my power to answer his letter.

The man you mention coming with letters from Fort Vincient [Post St. Vincent, or Vinsenne, now Vincennes (23)] to this Place has not yet made his appearance. Wishing you and the Gentlemen with you health and success, I am

D'r Sir
Your Humb. & Obed.
Serv.,

ALEX. McKEE, Esqr. AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

DETROIT 7th Sept., 1781.

DEAR SIR:

The two Squas have delivered me your dispatches. I am extremely glad to hear of Brant's success (24). And if the reports brought in this morning by a young Delaware prove true, you have given Mr. Clark's second Division a good check—I wait with great anxiety to hear from you upon this occasion. I fear that after this stroke the Indians will want to Disperse, but am confident you will do your utmost to keep them together, least Clark should attempt to revenge the blow when he can assemble the Militia. Please to tell my Children that there is nothing like striking the iron whilst hot.

Mrs. De Peyster and your friends here join in Compliments.

I am, Dr. Sir,
With the greatest esteem,
Your Humb. & Obedt. Servt.,
AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

DETROIT, 13th Sept., 1781.

GENTLEMEN:

I have received your letter of the 29th August. It gives me great pleasure to hear of Capt. Brant's success, tho I much regret the Indians not taking your advice; if they had we certainly should have made a noble coup. It is to be hoped, however, that they will see the Necessity of keeping together yet awhile, as it is most certain that Clark, as soon as he can get a reinforcement from Kentucke, will endeavour to revenge this affront. I am sure you will not fail to instill into their minds that if they beat Clarke, which they certainly will do if he makes a stand or advances towards them, they will recover their hunting grounds and their descendants will bless their memory, otherwise should he escape this time, the next army will make them repent their folly. I had the opportunity immediately upon the receipt of yours to

transmit it to the General, convinced that this prelude of your success will make him extremely happy. I have the honor to be, Gentlemen,

Your most Obdt. Servant,

Captain THOMPSON— AT. S. DE PEYSTER.
and ALEXR. MCKEE, Esq.
Indian Country.

DETROIT, Oct. 4th, 1781.

DEAR SIR:

I am favoured with your letter and am glad to hear of your successes, but could have wished that the Indians had stayed a little longer in that Neighbourhood as I think it probable that Clarke may yet visit them—I approve much of your scheme and now send you some strings with which you will endeavor to stop the Shawnese and Delawares from coming to Detroit, by assuring them I will send off a Vessel with Goods to the Roche de Bout so soon as I hear from you that they will consent to send there for them, or at Sandusky if you should think it more convenient. I leave you to make the Speech you think most calculated for the occasion. I shall only give you one Hint which is to tell them that I have stopt the Rum nor will I either give, or suffer, one drop to leave Detroit till I am convinced that Clarke has given over all thoughts of entering their country, this I shall do out of regard to the Indians for whom only I can fear—If the goods are to be sent please to let me know who will be at Roche De Bout or elsewhere to make the distribution, it must be some person acquainted with their numbers and language.

I send some things which you will please forward to the Hurons requiring them to bring in the Six Teachers, and a few of the Principal Chiefs of the Moravians only (25)—the article of provisions prevents me objecting to their scheme of keeping the Moravian Indians at Sandusky—It would be best however if they contrived to settle them between the two Huron Villages. All which I must leave to your prudent Management. You will therefore please to frame such Speeches as you think are most proper for the occasion—

The Indians must not expect any provisions from me. We are hard pushed ourselves for that necessary article and have not the means of procuring it by Hunting—

We have no News from England as yet, the Hope is at the River's Mouth and has sent up word that the Gage has the Packett, they parted in a Storm, all that we know is that the Flect is arrived—All your Friends Beg leave to join in Compliments to you.

I am Dear Sir with Great Esteem &
friendship Your Most Obed.
Humble Servant,

ALEXR. MCKEE, Esqr. AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

XXX.

DETROIT, the 11th Nov., 1781.

DEAR SIR:

Higgings has been ready to leave this for some time past, but I detained him in order to forward you any letters which might arrive by the Vessels and to convey to you the result of my conference with the Moravians. Captain Pipe brought in four Teachers, leaving the other two to take care of their Wives and Children, and build huts for the winter. The four who came in appear to be harmless people. They make no secret to have written several letters for the Cooshocking (26) Delawares to Fort Pitt, which they say they were obliged to do in their own Defence, but that those who dictated the letters always carried them themselves.

They say they were at first settled high up the Muskingum, till invited or rather importuned to move down to the Cooshocking Village, where they found the Indians so very troublesome that they returned to their former habitation. They say they were ordained by their Bishops and sent on that Mission independ't of Congress more than to have obtained verbal leave to pass. They therefore now requested to return to their families and Mission at Sandusky, and his Majesty's protection, promising good behaviour for themselves and their Indians. Capt. Pipe being present seconded their application in behalf of his people and assured me it would be agreeable to the people of Sandusky that they should return, at least for the winter. In consequence of this and the fair promises made by them, I have consented to their returning to their familys.

The last Vessels brings no news of anything extraordinary, Lord Cornwallis rapid success in Virginia and the Carolines excepted—and our having lost Pensecola. Col. Guy (27) is ordered down to Quebec to attend the Prosecution of Messrs. Taylor and Forsythe upon an accusation of their Clerk who alledges they charged Government with Eighteen Thousand pounds—Fraudulently—Exclusive of the Prisoners I have already troubled you about, a would be glad if the Indians would give up Casper Browne's wife and children, Jno. Link's Children, those men being Loyalists—also a girl of about 26 years old named Christina Style—she is at Wahatonakie—

Captain Caldwell is come here in the room of the unfortunate Thompson and Lieut. Butler has returned to Pawling—Poor Brant is very ill yet—I have sent off his young men with the Speeches—

Your friends here particularly Mrs. De Peyster desire to be remembered to you.

I am Dr. Sir
With great friendship,
Your Humble & Obed. Servt.,

ALEX. MCKEE, Esqr.
Dy. Agent, &c.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

XXXI.

DETROIT, the 19 Nov., 1781.

DR SIR:

In compliance with your request I now dispatch a party of Rangers with a batteaux loaded as pr. invoice sent by Sergt. Secord. I have thought it necessary to send some provisions, and acquaint you Sergt. Fisher left four hundred of flour and thirteen half Barrels of Pork with Archbald M'Alister, Mr. Cochran's man, of which you may also take, giving him your receipt— I hope the Indians will be satisfied, as we have it not in our power to purchase any deficient articles. We have nothing new to communicate, but as Mr. Surphlet returns here I hope to send you some favorable news which I expect by the Hope.— I am, Dr. Sir,

Your humb. & obdt. Sert.,

AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

P. S.—The Indians from this quarter are of opinion not to go off from their Wintering in small bands, but wait to hear if they are wanted in a body—Your Indians being acquainted with it will account to them for the few partys they perhaps may see.

DETROIT, the 6 Feb'y, 1782.

DEAR SIR:

Mr. Surphlet having just acquainted me that he is ready to leave this, gives me the opportunity to acquaint you that six Oneidas arrived here a few days ago to join Joseph, being his particular friends. They brought the letters which came by the last vessel acrost Lake Ontario, but nothing new, having been forty-six days on their Journey, One of the papers mentions that His Majesty has knighted Admiral Parker on board of his own ship for having beat the Dutch fleet under Admiral S[Z?]outman in the North Seas. There is a paragraph also mentioning that we have recovered all our possessions in the East Indies. No letters for you. If the Express should return here before you pay us a visit, I shall not fail to send your letters. Mrs. De Peyster and the Gentlemen desire to be remembered to you.

I am, Dr. Sir,

Your Humb. & Obedt. Sert.,

AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

Please remember me to my Indian friends and children.

DETROIT, the 3 April, 1782.

DEAR SIR:

I have waited in daily expectation to hear from you, especially as there has been a report spread in this place (which came from Fort Pitt) that Lord Cornwallis surrendered his little army to Washington, who besieged him in Yorktown and Gloucester, Virginia. The same reports say that the Six Nations have offered to make peace with the Americans—Upon hearing this

I spoke to Brant upon the subject, who says he'll forfeit his life it is not true, unless it has been done by some of the Indians in the neighbourhood of Fort Pitt, where he says there are a few families of the Six Nations who have been neutral during the war. We have had no Express from Canada yet therefore are in the dark of what is going on there. The enclosed speech will let into what was the sentiments of the Indians at Niagara last fall. If the accounts from fort Pitt concerning Lord Cornwallis be true it may make them alter their plans. You will be the best Judge whether to communicate these resolutions to the Shawaneese or not. I have thought best not to say anything to the Indians here till I hear further least we give the alarm to the enemy.

Mr. Laurimie[u]s will send you this letter, to whom I now send for the shells and cannon-ball, which was hid at the Glaise (28). We may have occasion for it in case of an expedition toward F. P. [Fort Pitt.]

Your friends here are all well and beg to join in Compt. to you.

I am, Dr. Sir,

Your most humb. & obedt. Servt.,

ALEX. McKEE, Esqr. AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

DETROIT, 11th June, 1782.

DEAR SIR:

I am favoured with your letter from Upper Sandusky of the 8th instant, The pleasure I received from the defeat of the Enemy would have been greatly heightened had Captain Caldwell not been wounded. Before this reaches you the Lake Indians will all have joined, and by the Gage I shall send a reinforcement of Pottiwattimees from the Cœur de Corps (29). Hayill and the Doctor will inform you of an accident which befell on the 10th instant, which should require the utmost exertion of both the troops and the Corvé-men to repair. As this years Campaign was not begun upon the offensive plan, it would be now too late, considering the Circumstances which attend us, to send cannon. If my children are capable of defeating the enemy in the field we must content ourselves to let their Forts alone till a more favorable opportunity. I shall send you more Ammunition by the Gage, and shall take care to send provisions for the Rangers and Lake Indians as much as our present Circumstances will permit. My intentions are that the Rangers shall give every assistance to the Shawanees in their power, and am in hopes they will send us a small reinforcement from Niagara. Please to acquaint the Snake with this in answer to his Speech, and be so good as to assure my Children that I wish them success which experience convinces will ever attend them if they are unanimous and resolute.

I am, dear Sir,

Your most obdt. Humble Servant,

AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

P. S.—Mr. Du Dindre, Mr. Le Clive and Chevallier will join you with the Cœur De Corp (30) Indians.

XXXIII.

DETROIT, the 13th June. 1782.

DEAR SIR:

The Gage was getting under way when I received yours of the 8th instant. The Pottawattimees are very anxious to get off, therefore I shall only detain her till Mr. Baby can run up and send off the Blankets and such cappots as he has made, and the Pack-Saddles with which they are running down as fast as possible. Believe me, Sir, it is not in my power to send any troops or even men to work the cannon, so that it will be best not to send any. You certainly will agree with me that a pretty divertion may be made in the Enemy's Country off-hand without the incumberance of Cannon, the loss of which would tarnish all our former success.

I am glad to hear that Captain Caldwell is so well and hope he will soon be able to stand, but he cannot flatter himself to be able to enter upon a speedy Campaign. My former letter will inform you that I hope they will consider us at Niagara. If they do not relieve me we have enough upon our hands here. It has not ceased raining one day since you left us.

I have been all this day in Council with a large Band of Miamies, Ouiachtanons, Piankeshaws, W[M]eehonkes and Paorias. They promise well, but seem to come more on account of trading than otherwise. If, however, any can be moved to join you they shall follow.

Please to give my compliments to Capt. Caldwell and the gentlemen at Sandusky, and if possible make my Children sensible that it is not in my power to do more than send ammunition and Indians accompanied with proper officers. I am, Dr. Sir, Sincerely Yours,

AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

Sergt. Langdon will give you an account of all he brings—he is a careful good man.

DETROIT, July 27th, 1782.

DEAR SIR:

I have received your letter of the 23 and have in Consequence thereof ordered the few Indians present at Detroit to join you. Mr. Beaubin (28) arrived here at 12 o'clock last Night from the Miamis Town whither I had sent him to get intelligence. He has brought in two Canadians from Port Vincent whom he found there. They make no mention of an Enemy coming by the Wabash. A Speech from LeGris assures me of the fidelity of the Miamis who have sent off thirty of their Warriors to join you. I shall dispatch Beaubin this afternoon to raise the rest of the Miamis and march with them to your assistance. I also expect a large Band of Chippewaas from Makina, who shall be forwarded immediately on their arrival. The Ottawas thence already gone forward I hope will have Joined, as well as Captain Bradt's Detachment, before Captain Caldwell finds himself under the Necessity of attacking the Enemy. By this Opportunity I send some provisions and Ammunition to be deposited at the foot of the Rapids of the Miamis (29).

XXXIV.

The same Vessel proceeds to fetch Sergt. Langdon with his stores from Sandusky, and to land them at the foot of the rapids from whence you are to receive your Supplies. Contrary Winds have prevented my seeing Brigadier General Powell here before now; he is on his way to visit this part of his District. As soon as he arrives I will write you again, and to Captain Caldwell to whom you'll please to show this letter, and assure him of my good wishes; in the mean time should be glad to hear from you both.

I am Dr. Sir

Your Humb. & Obed. Sert.

ALEXR. McKEE, Esqr. AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

DETROIT, 6th August, 1782.

SIR:

It having been reported to me by Isaac Geans, that the Shawneese and Delawares push their retaliation to great lengths by putting all their prisoners to death, whereby, if not prevented, they will throw an odium upon their friends the English as well as prevent their Father from receiving the Necessary intelligence of the Enemy's motions, so essential to carry on the Service for their mutual interests, I must therefore reiterate my injunctions to you of representing to the Chiefs that such a mode of war will by no means be countenanced by their English Father, who is ever ready to assist them against the common Enemy provided they avoid Cruelties (30). Tell them I shall be under the necessity of recalling the Troops (who must be tired of such scenes of Cruelty) provided they persist, and assure them that the Lake Indians complain much of their late treatment to the three prisoners taken near the Falls.

I am confident Sir that you and the Officers do all in your power to instill humane principles into the Indians. It is, however, a duty incumbent on me, to beg of you once more to speak to the Chiefs and assure them that Brigadr. General Powell was greatly shocked at hearing the reports spread by Geans, strongly recommends that it may be stopped. He is, however, still in hopes that Geans must have greatly exaggerated Matters, as I have not received a line from you upon the Subject. Some Lake Indians who arrived from Sanguina (31) left this two days ago. They will no doubt spread a false report that the Sacks, on leaving Michilimackina fell upon their Wives and Children. I have already desired Captain LaMothe (32) to assure the Chiefs that I gave no credit to it, not having then received a line from Lieutenant Governor Sinclair. And I now have the pleasure to inform that a Vessel arrived this morning, in five days from Michilimackina, assuring me that no such thing has happened, but that on the contrary their wives and families were all well and desire to be particularly remembered to them. Please to present *La Fourche* and *Quoioigushkam* with the annexed Belt of friendship which they gave me at Michilimackinac and which will now serve to convince them that their old Father speaks truth. I request to hear from you and

Captain Caldwell, as soon as you Receive this letter. Craig brought me the last accounts from you, dated Wakitamikee, the 22d and 23d July, 1782. Please to show this letter to Captain Caldwell, to whom I shall write by the next opportunity.—I am Sir

Your Most Obed. & Very Humble Servt.

ALEX. McKEE, Esqr. AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

P. S.—The four Belts are, one for the Hurons, Mingois, Delawares and Shawneese. Should any other Nations be present, you will please to add accordingly.

DETROIT, 19th Augst., 1782.

DEAR SIR:

☞ You must be sensible that I have lost no opportunity to request that you would recommend Humanity to the Indians. It has ever been the principle that I have acted upon, and I am convinced that no task is more agreeable to your Wishes. Upon my arrival here I found the Indians greatly civilized from the good advice they received from you and my Predecessors, in which disposition through our earnest endeavours we continue them, till the imprudent step of the Enemy at Muskinghum called up their savage ferocity, which I am convinced, but for the timely interposition, would have gone to greater lengths. I see they still hold their Prisoners formerly taken in mild captivity, whilst their resentment only shows itself upon those newly taken looking upon them as a part of the People who imprudently declared both by words and signs that they were come to exterminate the Wyandott Tribe.

The inclosed Copy of a letter from his Excellency the Commander in Chief will give you his sentiments upon the Cruelty lately committed upon Col. Crawford and the two Capts. Such parts thereof as you see necessary to the Purpose you will please to communicate to the Shawnese, Delawares, Mingois and Wyandotts and you will further endeavour to convince those nations that by persisting in acts of retaliation they will in the end draw mischief upon themselves and their Posterity; but on the contrary if they make war agreable to the Example set them by their Father and Brothers the English they will always find themselves supported against their Enemy.

Capt. Chesne who will deliver you this dispatch will on his return speak to the Miamies, Potowatamies, &c.—I am Sir

Your most obed. humble Servt.

TO ALEXR. McKEE, Esqr., Dept. Agent. AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

DETROIT, the 22d August, 1782.

DEAR SIR:

Being much hurried when I sent Mr. Chene off, I either put a wrong letter under cover to you, or must have closed my letter without putting any one in it—for this morning in looking for a letter wherein His Excellency

approves of my having called in the Moravians (33) to settle near Detroit, I found the enclosed which should have been sent. Please to send me the other back by the first favorable opportunity, and you'll oblige your Humble Sert. AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

Mr. ALEX. M'KEE.

DETROIT, the 27th Sept., 1782.

SIR:

I am just favored with your letter and one from Captain Caldwell, both reporting the Enemy advancing towards Sandusky, and requesting a reinforcement, in consequence of which I have assembled the Ottawas of the Miamie river, and shall speak to them upon the subject. I have also ordered a Detachment of fifty Soldiers, with artillery properly officered, to take posts at the Roche de Bout, in order to support you in case you are obliged to put my former orders into execution, which are, should you find the Enemy too strong, to retreat and give time for the neighbring nations to assemble. Captain Brant sets out with Captain Potts, who will help to spirit up the Six Nations. As matters are circumstanced it is not in my power to allow Captain Potts to proceed further than the Miami River, nor indeed would time allow him to join Captain Caldwell before the Enemy approach him. You will of course endeavour to form a junction with C. Caldwell as soon as you are convinced that Sandusky is the object the enemy have in view. In every other matter I must leave you to act mutually as circumstances shall require for the good of the service. I am, Sir,

Your Most Humble,

ALEX. M'KEE, Esqr. & Most Obedt. Ser.,

Dy. Agent, &c. AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

P. S.—It is thought best that the Detachment should take post at the Block House, lately built at the mouth of the Miamie.

DETROIT, the 1st Oct'r, 1782.

DEAR SIR:

I am favoured with your letter of 22d and 26 ultimo, by which the Enemy seem inclined to cut off the Huron and Shawnee Villages. By the accounts of their force and the present sickly state of the Rangers and the Indians being so much dispersed, I fear you will be obliged to retreat at least till you are joined by the Miamies—I have sent all the Indians I could muster, particularly the Ottawas of the Miamekie. Egoushwa is also gone, and eight of the Six Nations which arrived here in the last Vessels. You must be sensible that my soldiers are little acquainted with wood fighting and ill equipped for it withall—I have therefore only ordered them to take post where they can secure the ammunition and provisions, and support you in case you are obliged to retreat, which I hope will still not be the case, if

the Indians are as Determined as they have hitherto shewn themselves. I am very unwell and have an ugly bruised thumb which will I hope apologize for the brevity of this letter.—I am D'r Sir

Your Humble & Obed. Serv.,

ALEX. McKEE, Esqr. AT. DE PEYSTER.

DETROIT, the 23d Oct., 1782.

DR SIR:

Capt. Potts this morning received your Answer to his letter from the Block House, wherein you seem not to have had any late accounts of the Enemy. I have to inform you that Hazel arrived here last night in three days from Pipe's Town (34), where he had just spoken with two Deserters from Fort Pitt which place they must have left about the 12th Inst—As you are thoroughly informed of the accounts they bring before now, it is needless for me to say more than that you will see in the inclosed Speech, a copy of which I send by the Vessel to Sandusky—She takes ammunition and Tobacco as pr. inclosed, which will be stored at Arundels (35), to be delivered to your orders—About a week ago I sent four Barrels of Powder with a proportion of Ball and Tobacco to the Wyandotts and the like Quantity to the Delawares of Sandusky, so that you will know how to distribute the present Cargo—I fear our Cloathing Ship with the Indian Presents to the amount of Sixty thousand Pounds Stirl'g on Board, is either taken or lost, so that it will be late before I can supply the Nations with those necessary articles—It is really unlucky, the Enemy take it in their Head to come at this advanced season when our Rangers as well as Lake Indians are almost tired out—The Indians are gone to their hunting grounds much displeased at having been as they thought deceived, so that it will be a difficult matter to get any to move and the Rangers are many of them like walking spectres. I shall however send them when they are able to move provided there is an absolute occasion for it. I hope something still may happen to prevent the Enemy from advancing, but should that not be the case, the Indians must make the best of it. In fact they must strike in a body upon the first appearance of the Enemy or, they will run the risk of having their Hutts burnt, and what is of much more consequence their spirits damped—I am convinced you will direct all for the best, and that matters may turn out better than we imagine is the sincere wish, of, Dear Sir,

Your humble & Obedt. Servt.,

AT. S. DE PEYSTER, Major.

P. S.—If this storm does not blow over soon, you will I fear be late for a Voyage to Canada.

I must observe one thing to you, which is that unless the Indians can assemble a body sufficient to make a stand, they had better disperse than to lead the Rangers into a scrape by sending for them. Please to make them sensible of this———

XXXVIII.

DETROIT, 21st Novr., 1782.

DEAR SIR:

I am just favour'd with your Letter of the 15th Inst. and am very sorry to hear that the Shawnese of the Standing Stone Village (36) have kept so bad a lookout. Had they attended to your advice, as the other Villages have done, it would not have happened, and I should have been apprised of the Enemy being on their march in time to have sent assistance, the want of which information made me conclude that the Enemy had given over thoughts of an Expedition this fall, and in complyance with repeated Orders from the Commanding Officer of the District, I sent Capt. Bradt's Detachment to Niagara.—Capt. Caldwell is himself very weakly and his Detachment of 70 men cannot turn out above half the number for Service, owing to the Sickness they contracted at Sandusky, so that it is not in my power to send a force sufficient at this advance season to be of Aid to my Children, who must necessarily avoid the Enemy, if they prove too strong in numbers to cope with, and this they may easily do, as they are acquainted with their being in their Country. It would therefore be imprudent in me to sacrifice those few troops which may be of use to them in the Spring. The Enemy no doubt will have left the Indian Country before this reaches you. I have nevertheless sent the string of Wampum as desired to the several Lake Indians, but they too I fear are too much dispersed. Should the Enemy contrary to my expectations fortify themselves with an Intention of remaining in the Indian Country, I shall proceed to take such steps as will enable the Indians to dislodge them early in the Spring. Brigadr. Gen. McLean commands the District; he acquainted me that the Orders relative to act in the defensive only, are still in force. I herewith inclose you an Extract from the Commander in Chief's Letter which will inform you of his Sentiments and of what we have to expect. We have nothing else worth communicating than that the Indian Presents have passed Niagara; but I fear we shall not see them till Spring. I hope soon to have the pleasure of your Company at Detroit, for should this Body of the Enemy have retreated, none other can be expected this Winter.

Your friends here all sincerely join in Compts. to you. Wishing you success, I am Dr. Sir, with the greatest Esteem,

Your Most Obed. Humble Servt.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

P. S.—Eight Delawares just arrived from Niagara have agreed to join the Shawnese.

DETROIT, 24th Jany, 1783.

DEAR SIR:

The repeated reports which I have had from different People, both Interpreters and Indians, of your coming in, prevented my sending off a messenger to your Village.—Hearing that the Wyandotts are desirous of going to War, I dispatch Ens'n McDougall to endeavour to stop them in case

you should be on your way here, and he miss of you. I now have the pleasure to acquaint you that two Companies of the 34th Regt. and I hope more Rangers will be here in the Spring. They did embark with the Indian Goods, but were put back by the Westerly Winds. The whole of the 34th Regt. winter at Niagara, Fort Schlosser and Fort Erie. I am persuaded, Sir, that you have sent out proper Scouts with Injunctions not to commit Depradations agreeable the Commander in Chief's Orders, and I may hope to see you when these Scouts return, provided it is altogether convenient to you. If on the contrary you do not propose visiting Detroit this winter, I should be glad of a few Lines from you soon, in order that I may continue my Correspondence with the Commander in Chief, who desires that Expresses may keep constantly going between Detroit and Quebec all Winter. Inclosed you have a Copy of an extract the Genl. received from Sir Guy Carleton, which will convince his Excellency that the reports did not originate in this Country. Two Pris'r Women brought in to Niagara report that Potter's Troops were ordered to disperse on account of a Cessation of Arms. I have also inclosed the Genl. Orders. Mrs. De Peyster and the Gentlemen at Detroit beg to join in Compts. to you wishing you the Compts. of the Season.

I am Sir, Sincerely Yours,

ALEXR. MCKEE, Esqr.
Dy. Agent.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

P. S.—Having received Orders from the Commander in Chief to Lessen the Indian Department list, I have struck off several of the Interpreters. Simon Gerty Continues his Pay till further Orders; but Mr. Surphlet, George Gerty, James Gerty and others who had two Dollars are reduced to one, with which please to acquaint them. You will please to dismiss such of your four-Shilling men as you have not an absolute occasion for.

AT. S. D. P.

All prisoners shall have provisions till they go down the Country.

DETROIT, the 20th April, 1783.

DEAR SIR:

Your sudden resolution to set off for Waketomakie on having hear'd that notwithstanding your earnest endeavours to prevent the Indians from going to war, some of the unthinking are preparing to revenge the stroke they received the last fall at the Standing Stone Village (37), gives me pleasure and will do honour to your humanity. Genl. Clarke is to blame for the steps he took last fall and for his still threatening the Indians with a visit, as he cannot be ignorant that a general peace is on the point of being concluded, on account of which the expedition from Fort Pit was certainly laid aside. The King's Speech which was copied from a Pensylvania newspaper lately brought to Osweego gives us the greatest reason to hope for accounts by the first Vessels from Niagara of the preliminary being signed. It therefore behoves us to do our best endeavours to restrain the Indians by assuring

that should they persist to act contrary to the intentions of their British Father we cannot support them ; but on the Contrary if they remain quiet, should the Enemy in the mean time enter their Country, we will give them every assistance in our power. The Annexed Copy of a letter from his Excellency the Commander in Chief fully explains his intentions of restraining the Indians. It will therefore be useless for me to enlarge upon the subject to one so fully acquainted with Indian Affairs as you are.

As your endeavours to redeem the Prisoners out of the hands of the Indians were in a great degree baffled by the late incursions of the Enemy to the Standing Stone (38), you may perhaps on the present occasion be able to mention it with better success in Council. I will speak with you more fully on this subject when I have the pleasure of seeing you before you set out upon your Journey.—I am Dear Sir ·

With the greatest esteem and regard

ALEXR. McKEE,
Esqr., Dy. Agent
Indian Affairs, &c.

Your Most Humble
and Most Obed. Servt.
AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

DETROIT, the 6th May, 1783.

DEAR SIR:

I yesterday received an express by land, which left Niagara the 24th of April, informing me that Major Ross had received information from Sir Guy Carleton that the Enemy were preparing to detach twelve hundred Continentals from their army at Newburg, and that he thought they were intended against Osweego. But this morning arrived the Felicity with letters from the Brigadier, inclosing a Proclamation of Peace. You will see the necessity of restraining the Indians more than ever.—I have this day spoken to the Hurons and Chippawas, and sent off instructions to Mr. DuQuindie by Antoine Chene. Send Druillard to the Wyandotts and Beaubin to the Miamies and Wabashees (39). I make not the least doubt but you will exert yourself amongst the several Nations in your District. It is to be hoped that a short time will bring accounts from Genl. Haldimand, signifying what the terms of Peace are. In the mean time we must sit upon our Matts and smoke, or at most do no more than keep a lookout for our own security. A letter from Genl. Haldiman still recommends his former instructions in the strongest terms, least we bring mischief upon ourselves. I have also received instructions from Sir John Johnson which are too long to copy and may vary when the Proclamation reaches Quebec. You shall, however, see them by some other opportunity.—I have the honor to be Dr. Sir

Your Most Humble & Obed. Sert.

ALEXR. McKEE, Esqr.
Dep'y Agent for Indian Affairs, Shawnee Country.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

P. S.—Please to give my Compts. to Mr. Elliot. ☞ Now is the time to get in the Prisoners redeemed from the Indians. [Note the Colonel's ever active humanity for enemies who did not always deserve it.—EDITOR.]

XLI.

DETROIT, the 5th June, 1783.

DEAR SIR:

I am favoured with your Letter of the 29th ulto. covering Copy of a letter and a Speech from Major Walls, Commanding Officer at Fort Nelson. As the business the Flag is sent upon relates solely to the Indians, they may in this case act as they think best. If they are informed of the number of their People at the Falls, and chuse to send Virginians to exchange for them, it will answer the good end of convincing the People of Kentucke of their good disposition to observe the Truce so earnestly recommended. For my part, not having any power to treat for the exchange of Prisoners, I can not with propriety let any go from hence; but on the contrary I would strongly advise them not to attempt to pass the Indian Country 'till matters are finally settled, least, notwithstanding the General Pacifick disposition, some jealous ill designing Persons amongst them might do the Prisoners an ill turn for which we would be made answerable. Most of the Prisrs. brought to Detroit to the amount of four hundred ninety-two are at their own request gone down to Montreal in hopes of getting home by way of Lake Champlain; amongst the few that remain here is Mrs. Polke and all her little Family to whom every mark of attention due to the unfortunate is shewn. She writes to her Husband by this opportunity. I flatter myself, Sir, that you will seize so favourable a conveyance to assure Major Walls and the People of Kentucke that nothing has been wanting on our part to stop the Indians from committing further Depredations on the Frontiers. Therefore should a small party escape from the remote part of the Wabash or elsewhere unknown to us, it would be the height of imprudence to retaliate otherwise than upon the party who are the immediate aggressors, in which case we may hope soon to see matters restored to tranquillity, to the satisfaction of all Parties. I have not received any other accounts from his Excellency the Commander in Chief than a copy of the King's Proclamation and a repetition of those Instructions to restrain the Indians. The reason of his not writing lately must be owing to his waiting the arrival of a Ship from England, when I hope he will acquaint us with matters being finally concluded. And then you and I may set ourselves upon our Matts with the pleasing reflection of having redeemed many of the unfortunate from slavery and saved the lives of those who (if they have the least Spark of Gratitude) will hereafter bless us.

I have the honour to be with the utmost esteem
Your most humble and most Obed. Sert.

AT. S. DE PEYSTER,
Lt. Colonel.

P. S.—I have been lately informed of a Mr. Wm. Jonston being a Pris'r amongst the Ouiactenons and have sent a messenger to redeem him.

XLII.

LETTERS

OF

COLONEL GUY JOHNSON AND COLONEL DANIEL CLAUS, BEARING ON MATTERS TREATED OF IN COMMUNICATIONS OF COLONEL ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER.

STATEN ISLAND, Aug. 9th, 1776.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

The short notice given of the Pacquets sailing obliges me to confine myself to heads for the present. We arrived here the 29th ulto. after eight weeks passage in which we were as far to the Southward as the Latitude of 27°, not far from Bermudas. We were attacked by a Rebel vessel of 14 six-pounders with swivels which we engaged in our little Snow (40) of 12 three-pounders, with no swivels, for one hour and an half, Broad side and Broad side, when after killing her several men she ran from us after disabling our rigging to such a degree that we could make no hand of a pursuit. We were fortunate enough not to lose a man but Dr. Constable shot thro the leg, and five slightly wounded. We wait the arrival of the fleet for the grand event. The Yankees have fortified all the eminences about the Town, and there are no inhabitants of any consequence remaining there. Col. De Lancey with many more are come to the army, and a Mr. Gumersal who informs us that Sir John was obliged to fly for Montreal thro the woods the 13th of May with 3 Mohock guides, 180 Highlanders and above a hundred other inhabitants, and he is now said to be with Genl. Burgoyne who is already advanced to Lake Champlain. ☞ Schuyler threatened Lady Johnson that if he did any thing she should be delivered up to the *enraged populace*.☜ The Scrub. My House is demolished all but the Walls. Yours they say not hurt. Schuyler holding congresses, and an army sent to Ticonderoga to oppose Burgoyne; but all wait the Great Event of our attack on their Grand Army here, and the General and all persons are so occupied in preparations for that event that I have been as yet able to do no business, tho the General is very affable. A few days will alter totally the position of things, when barring accidents you shall hear further from me; for at present we can determine on nothing. Neither can we say what measures will be necessary to take. About 10 days ago two men of war passed the fire of all their batteries and went to the Tappan Sea, where they were attacked last Saturday by a parcel of Gallies who received a good drubbing. I long to hear the event of Robert's most unjust suit. * * * * * * * *

To Col. CLAUS. Your Affectionate brother G. JOHNSON.

Little Edems is said to have —— part —— —— Garrison at Johnstown ——dy and others are prisoners with Mr. Cuyler or Mr. De Lancey, &c. Lady Johnson is (41) at her —— Aunt Hollands near Albany.

Endorcement from Col. Johnson:

Staten Island, 9 Aug., '76. Rece'd in Dublin, Sept. 1, 76.

XLIII.

HALIFAX, OCTR. 19th, 1778.

DEAR BROTHER:

I had great reason to hope for the pleasure of seeing you this Winter, and our dear connections. The pains I took to represent certain matters for above a year and an half past, I cannot now venture to enlarge upon, but at last I carried the point, and after all the delays occasioned by the French fleet &c. &c., I embarked the 10th last month, and after getting up almost to the Mouth of your River (St. Lawrence) we were driven away out of the Gulph by a N.W. storm in which we carried away much of our Rigging, one of our Yards, and sustained other damage. We again attempted the Gulph, got up a little way and were driven out by a storm in which we Suffer'd so much, and our Ragged Troops Just Escap'd from a long Captivity were in such a Condition that we were Necessitated to put in here, from whence we have but a poor prospect of Reaching you this Year, as every Ship has declined going at this Season. Mr. Johnson, of the 29th, with 3 Regulars and some Canadians have undertaken to go to Quebec (Via St. John River). If you see him, he'll give you particulars. Believe me I have much to say to you on the Strange difficulties I have met with, which have hitherto prevented my seeing you. Prospects of Expeditions up Hudsons River and other matters, but for fear of Accidents I must not Enlarge. I still (notwithstanding all difficultys) hope to see you about May next, and my dear little ones. The party goes off so soon and I have had so little time with Letters, Returns, Distribution of Troops for Quarters, &c., that I can say but little and I fear can't write by this Opportunity to my dear Polly. Pray show her this; tell her I got a letter of hers from Canada, which made me very happy. Tell her, if I live to see her, I shall have much talk with her and shall bring her something. Tell dear Julia how much I love her, and kiss little Nan, for me, and my dear sister Claus. Your own good sense will suggest to you the danger of being too particular by this Conveyance as well as the disappointment it is to me to be separated (when I had a good prospect) from such dear Relatives, and when I had a consquential duty to perform, but considering the Season, I hope I may still be time enough; I have not far to reach you. I have ventured H. Clinton's dispatches (committed to me) hy this opport'y, and I sent Long Delaware Tom (who brought me intelligence to N. York) with the party, also one of Butler's Officers (42). I paid due regard to yours respecting him (Butler), but must defer entering on the subject. Help Tom (if you can) and send him in a good humor away to tell the Inds. I am coming, and what has happened to delay me. The strange Change in Politicks must have surprised you. If possible send me a line on Rect. of this. All your friends are well, and I am I don't know how; but you shall always find me, my dear Claus,

Your Affectionate Brother and true friend G. JOHNSON.

We took a prize on our way.

D. CLAUS, Esqr.

XLIV.

NIAGARA, 18th Feby., 1780.

SIR:

I arrived at this Place the 4th Octr. last after a variety of Disappointments and Difficulties which I must defer entering upon till we meet. A few days after I went to Oswego with a body of Indians, on an Affair which was rendered impracticable from the late arrival of the Troops, and the hasty Retreat (43) of the Rebels, and on my Return, the 18th Novr. I wrote you a few Lines to notify my arrival and to acquaint you that the General had sent your Letter to me, and that I should take the first Opportunity to arrange all matters, since which I heard that you went to the Southward, and the other Day I read your Letter from the Shawanese Town of Novem'r last to the Commanding Officer of Detroit, by which I perceive you had no intelligence respecting me. I hope this letter will come safe to your hands and I wish it may do so at the Shawanese Village, as I would have you acquaint them People that after my having been sent by the King's Orders to attend a proposed Movement from New York which at length was laid aside, I obtained Permission to come this way, but was near lost in a Storm at Sea, and obliged to winter in Nova Scotia, from which I set out as early as I could procure a conveyance, and have been here these Six Months, furnished with His Majesty's Royal Commission and Authority as Superindendant of the Six Nations and all Allies, &c., and as their Colonel. That I am particularly pleased to hear of the Fidelity of many among them, which I mean to reward, and that they will always find me their True Friend, and a follower of Sir William Johnson's Footsteps, and that I think it necessary in the present state of affairs to see some of their Chiefs, as early as possible in the Season to Concert Matters for their Honor and advantage. If you have left the Place you can forward this with any Additions necessary accompanied with a Belt to them. But as I have some Cash for you, and many important Points to settle, I think it will be best that you accompany them, or if they are tardy that you come yourself as soon as it is practicable. Possibly I may be to the Westward of this; but as this must depend upon the Posture of Affairs, I think it the best to direct you to this Place, from whence you can proceed as the service may require, so as to render the Indians of your District as useful as I know they are capable of being. The General wrote to me that you had been recommended as of much Use in Detroit, which gave me much Pleasure, as I am always, with much Esteem, Sir,

Your Friend & Well-Wisher G. JOHNSON.

I have near 3000 Indians at this Place, all hearty in the cause, and about 300 are Just gone out against the Enemy.

ALEXR. MCKEE, Esqr.

NIAGARA, April 6th, 1780.

SIR:

Since my last of the 18th Feby. (of which for fear of Accidents I now send you a Duplicate) four of the most principal Men among the Rebel In-

dians have come with Proposals of Accommodation from the Rebels to the Six Nations which they rejected with Contempt, and a few days ago I had a meeting with about 3000 of them, when I renewed and sharpened their Axe and gave them a new Road Belt, at which they expressed great satisfaction, and gave fresh Assurances of their Persevering in that Zeal and Fidelity to his Majesty, for which they have hitherto been distinguished, and they now send a deputation of some of their Chiefs to explain what passed on that occasion to the Hurons and their Confederacy, and to the Shawanese and Delawares, and to engage them to act in conjunction with them, against the Rebels. I have given them a Belt and Speech, addressed to these Nations, which you will please to see delivered to the Shawanese and Delawares in my name, should you be amongst them, when the Deputies from the Six Nations arrive; but if not, there is no necessity for your going to them merely on that account. In the Course of the Winter, there has been an extraordinary Message sent to the Delawares of this, from the Wiandots, Chipawas. Poutawatomies, and I believe the Hurons are also concerned in it, advising them to a Neutrality and to remove and settle among them, &c. This seems to show a Spirit of Disaffection that ought by all means to be extinguished. You will do well to sift this matter to the Bottom, and I am Confident, will do every thing in your power to confirm such as are Wavering, and to make them all zealous for His Majesty's Interest, which is undoubtedly theirs also. I have wrote to MAJOR DE PEYSTER on this subject, who will doubtless give every Assistance in any affair of this kind. I have now only to repeat the Request I made in my last, that you would meet me here as early as possible with some of the Chiefs of the different Nations in Your Quarter, and to assure you that I am, Sir,

Your Well Wisher & Humble Servt. G. JOHNSON.

May 14th.

Within these few Days an Express arrived from N. York with papers and letters to the 6th April, containing the great and agreeable News, which you'll find in the inclosed, and of which MAJOR DE PEYSTER has further Particulars. We have likewise great Reason to believe that Carolina is entirely reduced. Several of my Parties have come in with 50 prisoners and scalps, and many more are out. The Mode of passing Indian Accounts here renders it necessary to be very particular, but I hope when they are Made up, the General will make Allowance for the Peculiarity of your Situation, on which I shall further speak to you. G. J.

ALEXR. MCKEE, Esqr.

NIAGARA, June 25th, 1780.

DEAR BROTHER:

Since my return from Kadaragaras (44) my time has been so taken up, and even at this minute, that I can only thank you by this opportunity for your kind Letter by De Conagne, whose father's Stores were from all inquiry I could make here, long since disposed of, as he directed. The Old man who

was a faithful old Servt., is still recommended to be kept up. The young one talks about getting partys to go down with him from hence, which the Indians here can't so well relish when they are continually going out on Service. Partys are coming and going every week, and all have been Successful from hence, Lt. Col. Butler is now down: I suppose he'll apply to you about some Cash for Cattle in 1777. Dease desires his Love; his Music was all Tatter'd and lost coming up the River. Remember me tenderly to my dear Children and to Mrs. Claus, and be assured I am, Dear Brother,

Colo. CLAUS. Sincerely yours G. JOHNSON.

I hope Sir John has got back. I shall write him by next vessel. I have a letter from Col. Campbell recomendg. De Couagne.

NIAGARA, Augt. 12th, 1780.

SIR:

I am happy to hear of your success and safe return to Detroit, having received your letter of the 4th Instant from that place together with one from MAJOR DE PEYSTER from which and from the Intelligence accompanying it I think it unlucky that the Shawanese, &c. should be on their way at this season, circumstanced as affairs now are on Ohio. When the Indians last Winter desired it, it was from an inclination to Stimulate some of them to War, who according to the Accounts I had from them, and the Officers here had been backward; but a long time has Elapsed, and as they now appear in general animated with the same Vigor, which the Six Nations have long manifested, and as that Country is besides threatened with an Invasion, it may not be perhaps prudent for them to come at this time, except a Chief and Warrior of each Nation, or at most of each Tribe, which indeed is at any time sufficient, and I hope they can be brought to agree at least to that by representing to them, that I have now 850 Warriors out on Service and among them many principal men, that the rest are Scattered at their Hunting Grounds, and difficult to assemble, and that the motions of an Enemy whose designs are as much against their Land as anything else should be closely watched. I am in hopes that this, or something to its effect will at least induce them to confine the party to a small number such as cannot effect the Service or protection of their Country. You know their Customs do not square with our regulations of Departments, and therefore they did not chuse to confine their Calls to the Chiefs of the Shawanese, Delawares and Mingoes, who are their Confederates and Dependants and the latter of whom are Senecas, proper, but extended it to all their Allies, and indeed the Government do not wish that our divisions should affect them, so as to give them any concern; but I think that as matters are now circumstanced their visit might be postponed or prosecuted only with a very few acting men, and MAJOR DE PEYSTER's situation renders him the best Judge of the Wants of the Service there. I have lately received several Letters from the General, with his approbation of all my measures. I have also just received a Letter from the Secy. of

State, but of an old date, and from the Fleet's delay, &c. it is uncertain when any movement takes place from the Frontiers. However I keep out partys continually, and find by all the Rebel papers of N. York and Pennselvania that they greatly distress the Enemy. One Party has just taken a Rebel Block house (45) and another distroyed a fine Settlement and several Granaries, &c. The General writes me that you are indispensably necessary at present at Detroit, but that you are *to be considered of my Department* from your former appointment, and writes me respecting your pay which I find has been drawn both by myself and the Major. However that is of no consequence as I can easily give credit for it in my next public accounts. I am just now interrupted by another party and can only add that I am with regards, Sir,

Your Well Wisher & Humble Servant G. JOHNSON.

ALEXR. MCKEE, Esqr.

NIAGARA, 7th April, 1781.

SIR:

The late letters from Detroit and from yourself, which have been communicated to me, has induced me, with General Powell's approbation to send a message to encourage and strengthen the Hearts of the Indians in your quarter and particularly the Shawanese, and those who are most exposed to an Invasion. The great distance from hence, and the Uncertainty of affairs at present render it difficult to say how far the Six Nations may be able to help them; but I am sure they'll do so, as far as time and circumstance will permit. In the present state of things, from the acco'ts we have of the Rebels, and of the success of our Troops in Virginia, &c., as well as from the great distance and difficulty of the Route to Detroit, it does not seem probable they can come there in force within a short time; but the Vigilance of your Scouts will enable us to Judge farther, by procuring intelligence of their last motions. The person whom I have sent with the Message is Capt. Brant (46) of my department, who is accompanied by 17 Inds., and from his Vigilance I expect the Message committed to him and the object of his Journey will be faithfully executed; he will show you his Instructions, and meet with your Assistance, and it will doubtless be pleasing to the Shawanese to see him and those of the Six Nations with him. Kayashota left this long since with belts from the Eastern Indians, the Six Nations, and myself, but got a hurt and lyes ill at Kadaragaras. I am with regard, Sir,

Your very humble Servant, G. JOHNSON.

ALEXR. MCKEE, Esqr.

MONTREAL, 16th Novr., 1780.

DR. SIR:

By last month's Fleet I sent you a set of five Affidavits for my half pay and also forwarded you a letter and Copy from Sir John, he sent from Os-

wego on his March, to my Care, wch. I sent by each of the Frigates wch. convoyed s'd fleet and hope may get safe to you on acco't of the contents. Had the Fall Fleet from England arrived in time Sir John and family were prepared to go to London ; but its not being heard of as yet he has given up the voyage for this year. He only returned the Beginning of this month from Laying waste the Frontiers of Albany and Tryon Countys, the best grain Countrys in America and upon wch. the Rebels and French Armies chiefly depend, and Joseph has also destroyed a great part of the Frontiers before that, and Major Carleton the Frontiers towards N. England taking the Forts George and Ann, near Lake George, and my Mohawks a place called Ballstown besides killing and taking the flour of Brigér. lately Col. Ethan Allan's (47) Officers and the Brigdr. seems to be really well, cool and friendly inclined to Government and may probably follow the Example of his Friend Arnold ; in short every thing here and to the Southward appears favorable for the King's Cause. As you assured me from Mr. Knox that I stand in the Esteem of My Lord G. Germ'e. (48), I wrote a letter of thanks to His Lordship by Judge Southouse who sailed the 20 Ulto. in the Bridgewater Indce. Man from Quebec, and gave him a short Sketch of the Services his Lordship employed and sent me out upon, without asking anything as which I defer till the contest is over, when probably if I live may take another Tour to England. Inclosed you have a letter to the Secretary of the Venerable Society for propa. Gospl. &c. wch. I would be glad you would deliver yourself to Mr. Morris with my respectful compliments and was there anything material to communicate to the Society should have wrote, at the same time ; please ask what my Year's Dues are to that Venerable Body since 1776 and pay them. If Sir John has gone to England I should have sent by him a Mohawk Prayer Book which I corrected and had reprinted by order of General Haldimand last summer at Quebec. There were 1000 Copies printed of which I had only a few bound for immediate Use and Want, as I could wish to have the rest interspersed with prints for the different Offices &c. as in other prayer Books and a Frontispiece representing His Majesty handing the Book to the Indians, which I think would be very striking and edifying to Indians. The Book is a small Octavo of 7 inches by 4½. However I hope and dont doubt our excellent Church and State will shortly rise fully to his pristine lustre and establishment and that the more so in America when I may have some proposals to make to the Society towards promoting piety and Virtue among the Ignorant Natives of America. * * * * *

Please also to forward the inclosed for Germany. If you should receive a bill of mine for £25 please to answer it. Mrs. Claus Joins me in Compliments to Mrs. Blackburn &c. and am, Dr. Sir,

Yours &c. &c. D. Claus.

To Mr. Blackburn,
6 Nov. 1780.

Wrote to Germany by the Jack Privateer.

XLIX.

JOHNSON HALL, 10 Sept., 1775.

MY DEAR BROTHER:

Tho I have but little to write, yet the fate of my former letter to you induces me to try my fortune once more, least you might imagine I was wanting in affection. I have regulated every thing for you, I hope for the best. I have ordered all your Cattle except what is Barely necessary for the use of your people below, up to your farm, where and the River you will have about fifty Skipples (*A*) of Wheat sowed. Your people as well as Colonel Johnson's are in want of provisions, and I am not able to procure it for them. I think it would be the best way for both of you to write to Mr. Adams for that purpose, as he does not seem willing to do anything without your orders, which he tells them he never had, tho I told him when you first went off that it was one or both of your desires that he would supply them with anything they might want. *Sed Tempora Mutantur.* Let us hear from you soon. Give our love to my dear sister and the poor little ones, and believe me always sincerely and truely yrs. JOHN JOHNSON.

All your Regiments are disposed of. Hamnicol [Hans Nicol?] Herkimer has yours, and Frederick Visher, Guy's (*B*). They have disarmed Colo. Butler's tenants last night. If they make any attempt here, you may expect to hear of something being done.

To Colonel DAN'L CLAUS,
Montreal.

NEW York, 20th January, 1777.

DEAR BROTHER:

You will no doubt think I have been wanting in Affection or friendship by my long silence, tho in a Country from which I had frequent opportunities of writing; but let nothing ever induce you to think that I could loose that Affection for you which your merit as well as connection with me has rendered inviolable, but attribute it to the distressed situation and uneasiness of mind I was in. Exiled from all that was dearest to me in life, and what rendered my situation still more unhappy was that, before I got to my Journey's end, I received letters from my Dear Polly (*C*), informing me that she was ordered to go to Albany with such part of her family as she thought necessary to take with her there to remain as Hostages for my behavior—the keys of every place were demanded and all papers that were not concealed were taken, my Books distributed about the Country, and my house made a Barrack of. The most of my Tenants went to different parts of the Country, there to linger out their time in the utmost distress, in want of every necessary while their families are equal Sufferers at home for want of their assistance. I had removed many things both of yours and Guy's to the Hall, all which together with everything I had in the world, except my Plate and our title, Deeds, Books of account, &c., which I had

Buried, were made plunder of by those ungrateful Rebellious Miscreants. After Lady Johnson had been at Albany a considerable time, I advised her, as I constantly corresponded with her by Indians and white men that I sent through the Woods, to try to prevail upon Mr. Schuyler or the Committee to let her return home, or come down to this place to her friends—they refused saying "that while they had her and the Children in their possession I would not dare to head the Indians or act agst. the Country; if I did, she would have reason to dread the consequence, for that she would not be saved from the Violence of the people." Such was the treatment she received from those Wretches, many of whom are under the greatest obligations to the family. But she supported herself under this trying situation with a Becoming Spirit. Upon my arrival at St. Regis with my party consisting of one hundred and seventy men who were almost starved and wore out for want of provisions, being nine days without anything to subsist upon but wild Onions, Roots and the leaves of the Beech Trees, I was received in the most friendly manner by the Indians who informed me that the rebells were still in possession of La Chine and Montreal, and that G. Carleton had got no further than Trois Rivières. I proposed to them to go off immediately and attack the former Post. They seemed very hearty, and desired that I would send to Capt. Forster (*D*) at Oswegatche, for two field pieces, which they had taken at the *Cedres*, which I did, and in a short time received one of the field pieces, with a Sergeant, one Artillery Man and three Volunteers, with which I set out after many delays, occasioned by the Coghnawagas bringing false intelligence. I was joined by the Indians of the Lake of the two Mountains, with many Canadians, but upon my arrival on the Isleaud of Montreal I was informed that the Rebells had abandoned both places the day before, and that the 29th Regt. had taken possession of Montreal, I continued my march with about five hundred men and crossed the River to La Prairie, with an intention to push for St. Johns in hopes of cutting off the retreat of some of the Rebells, but meeting with General Carleton, stopped. I informed him of everything that had passed, and offered my service with the Men I had brought with me, which were part of a much larger Body we had raised. He told me he would give me a Commission as Lieut. Colo. Commandant of one or two Battalions if I could raise them, with a Command on the frontiers, and a force sufficient to enable me to stand upon my legs and look my Enemies in the face. In consequence an Expedition was intended down the Mohawk River by the way of Oswego, but for many reasons was not carried on. The Expedition over the Lakes not succeeding agreable to our wishes, I obtained leave to sail for this place, in hopes something more would be done here, and that I would be able to get my family out of their hands; but I have not yet been able to effect it, tho they are within seventy miles of me. I have sent a flag, but have had no answer. Give my love to Nancy and the little ones, and remember me affectionately to all our friends in Ireland, and tell my Uncle John I shall write him soon. I most sincerely wish everything may turn out

to your advantage, and that we may soon be happy with each other is the sincere wish of your very

Affectionate Brother, JOHN JOHNSON.

SIR JOHN JOHNSON to Col. DAN'L CLAUS,
New York, 20 Jany., 1777.

Lady Johnson was delivered of a son the beginning of October.

QUEBEC, 18th June, 1778.

DEAR BROTHER:

I received your letter yesterday. I am happy to hear you are all well. We arrived here the evening Judge Owen met us, in health. We are very badly lodged, and should we continue here, which is not certain, I fear I shall be much at a loss to find a better. I am happy to find the Mohawks have accomplished their errand to the Mohawke Country, but wish with you, and am much surprised that they did not bring off some persons of more consequence and strike a blow of more weight, as they certainly had it in their power. I think they were wrong in burning my mills, &c.; the breaking up of the settlement can injure no one, but me. I am glad to find that Joseph (*E*) has at length had another Opportunity of drubbing those wretches who have so unjustly injured us all, tho it can be of little good consequence as matters are now circumstanced, for there is no longer any reason to doubt the Commissioners being arrived, and most likely ere this in treaty with them, and the Acts of Parliament are in Town repealing all the acts they have Complained of since the year sixty-three, as also the treaty of Amity and Commerce entered into between France and them, which was publickly Avowed by the French Ambassador to the King, who told him, his Master ought to consider seriously of such a step, as he must abide by the consequence; he said his Master had been long prepared for it. They have sent twelve Frigates to Virginia for Tobaco which they have agreed to take from the Americans at six pence farthing pr. pound at their own ports. This most likely will bring about a fresh War, as some, if not the whole of them, will very likely be taken by our fleet. Sir Wm. Howe (*F*) is certainly gone home. The general says he has not the least doubt, but a peace will take place immediately. I fear the terms will prove unfavorable to us, who have lost all we cou'd loose. By the Men who lately came in from Bennington we have an account of poor Sherriff White and Eleven others, being hanged (*G*) at Albany and one at Bennington. When, or where, will this Tyranny end; it is almost too much to support. The Ladys present their love and best wishes to you all, present mine also, and believe me sincerely,

Your affectionate Brother, JOHN JOHNSON.

Lady Johnson begs Polly would send her a yard of plain and a yard of Trimming Gauze.

LII.

I understood [Captain?] Tice that Birons act. was to be settled by Butler or Major Campbell; if not I must present it to the General for payment.

QUEBEC, 2d July, 1778.

DEAR BROTHER:

Agreeable to my promise to you in my last, I now shall acquaint you with some things that General Haldimand said to me yesterday in the presence of General Carleton, and in Confidence. I had mentioned to him a little before that when we were ordered here, we were in hopes it was to send us to York (*H*), but as that was not to be the case it gave great uneasiness to the whole Regiment, who either wished that, or to be employed on the frontiers of the Province, where they con'd be of most service, and con'd hear from their distressed families, and send them some relief. He asked me if I was acquainted with Deer Island (*I*) and Lake Ontario. I told him I had been that Rout last year. He said that as Oswego was too distant to be supported from this Country, especially in the Winter, that he therefore thought Cataraughqua wou'd answer the end intended by the Indians. I told him it would effect none but those being on that side of the Lake. He told me he thought it would answer us better than any other Post and desired I wou'd consider of it; he likewise said he had had a letter from you. I told him I was informed you were coming down; he said as he was going up shortly, that he would write to you and stop you. He also mentioned that as you were best acquainted with the Six Nations and that as you were his (*J*) Country man, he wou'd send you to their Country, to manage that Department. I told him I thought you the fittest person, and one the Indians approved of most. All this happened in the presence of General Carleton, who said not a word upon the Indian subject, whatever his thoughts might have been. As I wish we could go together, or at least be near each other, if you con'd point out any plan that would be more eligible, pray let me hear from you soon, as I can scarcely think of taking my family to the Post he seems to have a desire of establishing; indeed I think it is too late in the year to think of it. Mr. Pollard, who is just arrived from England, says they spoke of a frigate from York, who informed them that General Howe had burnt Philadelphia and gone on a secret expedition about two months ago. I can not give much credit to this report, as I think we must have heard it, was it true, by some of the people lately come in. I hope Miss has changed her conduct for the better. My love to my sister and the young ones and Compliments to the Gentlemen; tell Capt. Watts I have neither time, nor subject to write him at present. I believe I shall see you all soon; it is said General Carleton will attend Haldimand to Montreal, &c. All the staff are continued and there seems to be a good understanding between *the great folks at present.* I am sincerely, &c.

Affectionately, yrs. JOHN JOHNSON.

LIII.

Remember me to Joseph [Brant?] who I am told is arrived at Montreal; the General speaks highly of him.

Colonel CLAUS.

LA CHINE, 8th June, 1779.

DEAR BROTHER:

This will be handed to you by Mr. Wilkinson, who goes down to try his fortunes with the General, the little temporary advantage he had by the payment of the Loyalists being at an end, in consequence of Capt. McAlpin's Appointment to the Command of them. He is left entirely destitute of the means of supporting himself as before. As you have some little knowledge of him, a few words from you to the General might be of some service to him. Should there be any movement upwards there may be some employment for him. The Accounts brought by the last prisoner from Fort Stanwix, if true, are very Alarming, and I fear, should they move in such form as is reported, they will bring the Indians over to their Interest, and at least, secure some of the upper Posts, unless timely relief can be sent to them.

I hope your stay at Quebec will not be long, and that your next letter after receipt of this will bring us an account of some arrivals. If not, I shall begin to be apprehensive of Colonel [Guy?] Johnson's safety. I have inclosed an account of the Number of Rations issued to the Loyalists to the 24th Decr., 1778, which I wish you would get Mr. Day to Certify, and deliver it to Mr. Genevay, who has got Mr. Jordan's Certificate of the Number of Rations paid for; by comparing the two, it will appear that there is a large sum due to the several Corps, and as I advanced some money on that Account last summer to Captain McKay, on the General's promising it should be paid, I wish Mr. Genevay would make out a Warrant for the sum to be refunded and present it to the General for his approbation. I have wrote him on the Subject.

Your family and all friends are well and were here till yesterday. The General was so good as to promise me a Breed of his Hogs which he told Captain Tice he would send me, but should he forget it, I wish you would remind him before you come away.

I, am Sincerely and Affectionately, Yrs., JOHN JOHNSON.

QUEBEC, 28th May, 1781.

DEAR BROTHER:

It was with pleasure I received your letter by Saturday's Post; it was doubly pleasing to me as I was forgotten at home. I hope and pray to God it may not be owing to illness that Lady Johnson did not write to me.

I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that the "British Lion" is near at hand and the General's dispatches Arrived this Morning; but nothing has yet

transpired except that the fleet was returned from Giberaltar, and had supplied it with two years provisions, &c. The French and Spaniards formed a Junction, but avoided coming to Battle, which has a good appearance. I received a letter from Blackburn, which was put up in the General's dispatches, dated the 7th August, 1780, in which I have every assurance that nothing but a return of my Regiment (*K*) being Compleat, is wanting to have it Numbered. He also inclosed me the Treasury's letter and order upon the General for my off-Reckonings up to June, 1780, Amounting to five Thousand five Hundred and Odd pounds, so that I am all of a sudden become, what I scarcely ever expected, a Monied Man and that not unfairly or dishonestly as some others we know have. The private letters and passengers are not yet come up, so that I still expect letters of this Year's date which may still prove more favourable. I have just this instant returned from the General who desires me to tell you that he cannot possibly at this time think of Exchanging Mr. Stuart; one reason he assigns is the Service, he is employed in and may render to Government, where he is. He promises to appoint him to the second Battalion, and will serve him otherwise. I own, I think the employ and service he is engaged in dangerous; therefore, after the Correspondence is fixed, which I hope soon to hear of, I think it would be best to get him exchanged, which I hope will be done. My affectionate regards attend my Sister and the rest of the family. My best wishes always attend you, and you may rest assured of the sincere affection with which I always am Yours

JOHN JOHNSON.

To Col. D. CLAUS,
Montreal.

ISLE O'BIE (*L*), 1st Novr. 1781.

DEAR BROTHER:

I have the pleasure once more before our final departure to write to you. We arrived here last Evening after a tedious and disagreable Passage of Eight days, most of the time wet, cold and Boisterous. However, this day is fine, and the wind fair, and a prospect of its continuing so; we are to sail about twelve O'Clock, the Number of Ships so great that our Passage cannot be so short as we might otherwise reasonable expect. I believe we are upwards of Seventy sail. By a Sloop from Halifax we have an account of our fleet havieg gained some advantage over the French fleet in the Chesapeak, but I have not learned the Particulars. We have also an account by a Ship from England of an action (*M*) between four or five Dutch Ships of the line, and the same Number of ours in the Channel, in which one of our first Rates lost three hundred Men Killed and Wounded. They sunk one of the Dutch seventy fours, which is all I could get out of the person who related the story, as he was half-seas over; but you will soon know all from better Authority. I hope our little ones are well and that we shall hear from you by the next Opportunity. The Women and Children have had a pretty good Seasoning; all

were very sick; but we hope that the worst is over. They all desire to be Affectionately remembered to the whole family. My best wishes attend them all, and Compliments await my friends.

I hope you will let me know the particulars of the two Expeditions, as there will certainly be an Opportunity. God Bless you all and Believe me sincerely and truly your Affectionately Brother and friend,

JOHN JOHNSON.

To Colonel CLAUS,
Montreal.

LONDON, 21st March, 1782.

DEAR BROTHER:

I have the pleasure to acquaint you that after one of the most Boisterous Passages that was ever known from Quebec we arrived at Cove on the 15th Decr. and after remaining a few days at Warrenstown, Dublin, &c., we set out by the way of Holyhead and arrived in this place the 3d of Jany. and I have now the further pleasure to inform you that I have the appointment of Superintendent General and Inspector General of Indian Affairs, and am to be appointed Colonel Commandant, with the Rank of Brigadier General on the American Establishment, and have obtained with some difficulty an American establishment for my first Battalion; the second must wait the General's recommendation of it, which I have no doubt but he will favor it with, so that notwithstanding the greatest dissensions and distractions of the times which are unparalleled, I think I have succeeded very tolerably. Indeed I owe it all to the General's friendship and Sir Guy's interference, who has done everything in his power to promote my interest. Having compleated my business, I was looking out for a Passage in one of the Running Ships much against the Voice of all my friends, but could not find room in any of them for myself and Family, so that I am doubtful whether I shall return by the way of Corke, with the early Victuallers or go by the fleet from hence, which it is said will positively sail by the 15th of next month at furthest.

Mr. Knox was to have done something relative to the Mohawks agreeable to what you wrote me while at Quebec. The Ministry being totally changed, or about to be so, may prevent it now, but I shall see him upon it to-day. Nothing but a peace is talked of with America, but how, or upon what terms is unknown; but is said the terms must be favourable or the War prolonged another year at least. Proposals from Congress are said to be made, and people to treat, now in Town. I do not pretend to assert this to be true, but many people, especially the once Opposition, believe it. Nancy and William have been at school some time and have improved much in their looks. We were near loosing them both at sea, especially William, who was twelve days without taking any nourishment but drink, and was so reduced as not to be able to stand or even to sit upon his bed. Lady Johnson thinks Warren too young

to leave and I believe will take him back. Miss Watts is to return in *Statu Quo*. Tell Polly her Aunt has got her things ready. Our best wishes attend you all, and may God preserve and prosper you is the sincere wish of

Your Affectionate Brother JOHN JOHNSON.

My best respects and wishes attend all the Gentlemen of the Regiment. They must excuse my not writing. You can tell them all I have Mr. Langans things prepared. I hope they will please. I wish you could hire for me a better house. Mr. Dobie has a new one that is better; I mean larger and more convenient. The situation I wish to be good and open. Walker's house would suit if to be got.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE OFFICER COMMANDING THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT AT DETROIT.

His Majesty having been graciously pleased (for the better Regulation of all Indian Affairs, by putting them under one direction and Management) to honor me with the appointment of Superintendent General and Inspector General of Indian Affairs, and it being my duty to endeavour to render my present Employment as beneficial as possible to the Publick by establishing a Strict Economy through all Branches of my Department, and to prevent as much as is in my power, all abuses in those and not to incur any Expenses, which are not absolutely and indispensably necessary for the execution of this Service, I think it proper to direct you to be particularly attentive to, and aiding in every measure that can conduce to that end so strongly enjoined by the King, and his Minister, and so much our duty to the Public to attend to.

You are to continue regularly to cause Returns to be made to you, monthly, of the Officers, Men and Indians, and also Returns of all Parties, coming in or going out, that you may be enabled to report to me, as hereinafter directed, and every measure is to be taken by the Officers to prevent Frauds respecting the real Number of the Indians, and the time to which they are Victualled, with such Orders as you may Judge most necessary and likely to effect that important Object, the Reduction of the vast Consumption of Provisions, &c.

You are to make me full and clear Returns at the times hereinafter mentioned of the Quantities of Provisions and Liquors issued half-yearly to the Indians, that I may be enabled to Compare them with the Commissary General's Returns for the same Period, and to Specify the Number of Rations at the foot of my half-yearly accounts.

You are to take Care in Conferring Favours to distinguish the persons most worthy of His Majesty's Bounty, and most capable of promoting his Interests.

Upon the arrival of any Parties of distant Nations at the Post, and in all

matters where the Service shall be concerned, such as sending out Parties to War, or for Intelligence, holding Councils on material Concerns, sending Messages to absent Tribes upon public Business, &c., you are to report to the Commanding Officer, and in order to give the greater Solemnity to every transaction between us and the Indian Chiefs and Nations, you are to give notice to the Lieutenant-Governor, or Commanding Officer of the Garrison, previous to any Conference, or to the giving out any Indian Presents, that he may preside at the same, attended by the Officers of the Garrison, in whose presence it is ordered that all such Presents be publicly given.

All Presents, or Cloathing for small Parties, or to Individuals, are to be Issued from the Store by, or in presence of, the Storekeeper, who will be appointed, and will receive particular Instructions for his Conduct, and the same with regard to all such Presents as have been heretofore given as private Presents to Chiefs, &c., are to be Entered in a book, specifying their Quantity and Quality, at what time, to whom, and for what purpose given, that the whole Amount of the Annual Expenditure may appear, whenever called for.

You are to make no general Charge of Cash given to Indians in any future Contingent Account; but when such Charge becomes indispensably necessary, it is to be Inserted at what time, to whom given, and for what purpose, that the particular reasons for so doing may appear, whenever called for.

All future Contingent Accounts are to be made up and signed by the Officer Commanding the Indian Department at the Post, and with the Original Accounts and Vouchers transmitted to me, as hereafter directed.

All accounts of Officers or White men for expenses Incurred in the Indian Country or Service or at Indian Stations, shall cease in future, except in such particular cases, as render them utterly unavoidable, and then they are to be certified upon honor, and signed by the Officers Commanding the Department, and to prevent swelling the Indian Accounts with other Expenditures, nothing may in any wise be brought in to the Contingent Account, which cannot be made appear to be solely Contracted for the Indian Service.

In case it should happen that the Indian Goods should not arrive in due time, and that there appears an absolute and unavoidable necessity for purchasing some Articles, the Necessity of the Service, the Propriety of the Presents and the reasonableness of the Price of the several Articles should be certified by the Lieut. Governor, or Commanding Officer of the Post.

Whenever I shall cause Indian Goods to be forwarded to you, you will on their arrival, with the assistance of the Storekeeper, carefully examine them, comparing the same with the Invoice, Certifying in Writing what you have received, and in what Condition.

Should the Indians, as is Customary at some Posts, lay down Presents of any kind, they are to be taken up with Thanks, and in return Presents exceeding the value of theirs are to be given them; in which cases the Chiefs and Head Warriors, &c., are to be distinguished, and in order that the public

Expence may as much as possible be indemnified, it is the Commander in Chief's Orders, that all Presents received from Indians, in Council, or otherwise, be entered in a book, expressing their Quantity, Quality, and Value, and deposited in the King's Stores, which, if provisions, they are to be Issued to the Troops, or Indians, as the Service shall require, or the Commanding Officer shall direct; if Peltry, it is to be sold to the Traders at the Market Prices, and Credit for the Amount to be duly given to Government in your Accounts.

You will give in Returns of the Presents (specified as above) to the Commanding Officer, transmitting to me Copies of the same every six months, together with a Journal of all transactions in the least material, and with these you will transmit your Accounts and Returns of the Number of the Indians Cloathed, specifying the Nations and Tribes, and distinguishing the Men, Women and Children.

You will likewise transmit to me by the end of September annually the full and just Return of the state of Indian Presents of every denomination, remaining in Store, with a Requisition of what may appear necessary for the next year's Consumption, that I may be enabled to make out my General Estimate, and provide a Supply in time.

You are in all matters of Trade, wherein Indians are Concerned, to see that the utmost Justice be done to them, for which purpose, if the Interferance of the Commanding Officer should be necessary, you are to make Application to him, as you are to do in all matters where the King's Service is Concerned, unconnected with the Interior Economy of the Indian Department.

☞ You are to use your utmost Endeavours and Influence at all times to inculcate into the Minds of the Indians, Principles of Humanity and Tenderness to Prisoners, particularly upon the departure of all Parties from the Posts, while there is probability of their Retaliating or Resenting the Injuries they have sustained during the Course of the War. ☜

You will assure the Chiefs upon every Occasion of the King's Parental Care, and regard for them as long as they Continue to merit them, by acting as they have hitherto done, and you will likewise recommend to their Warriors and Young Men Fidelity, and a firm attachment to their Father, the Great King, with such arguments as your own knowledge and Prudence may suggest to you.

All contingent Accounts, Returns of every Denomination, and all Reports, you are, or shall be directed to make, are to be transmitted to me half-yearly on every 25th of March and September in each year.

Given under my Hand at Montreal, the 26th Day of February, 1783.

JOHN JOHNSON.

LIX.

MONTREAL, 21st Octr., 1786.

DEAR BROTHER:

I had the pleasure of your letter by Mr. Maitland, and now acknowledge the receipt of your last of the 12th July, by Boyd. The Passengers are not yet come up, nor have I received the Pamphlets you mention. I hope long ere this, Mrs. Claus is safely lodged, and in perfect health with poor little Nanny, and that their present situation may prove agreeable, of which I must confess I have many doubts, but hope they may prove groundless. From what I have learned of the sums allowed Colonel Johnson and myself, I fear for you; at the same time I look upon it only as owing to the necessary forms of going through accounts, which will at least be attended with the loss of Interest upon the sums so detained; but we have put ourselves in their power, and we must submit. I am much surprised at what you mention of Munroe; I always thought he was entitled to more than Major Gray (*N*); but I am happy to find the latter so well off, and sorry for the former, whose family have talked foolishly upon the subject, as Mrs. Claus can inform you. I will endeavour to have Mr. Roome's Books disposed of, and the money sent by the Nov'r. Ships, when you may expect to hear from me again. As Langan writes you fully—and has sent you all the Vouchers, &c., you wanted, or he could procure, I have nothing more material to trouble you with. I cannot omit mentioning to you for the Information of the Society, and for the benefit I hope of the Poor People Interested, that there are a large body of Protestants settled on the South of Montreal, at Chambly, St. Johns, Isle Aux Noix, South River, River la Cole (*O*), Caldwell's Manor and on Mr. Jordan's Estate Massisomke (*P*), on the Northwest side, principally composed of refugees from the Colonies, who have relinquished all they possessed and consequently not in a situation to defray the Expense of a Minister's attendance on them. All those Settlements are within a day's Journey of Montreal and would be attended by Mr. Delisle with more convenience and less Expense and trouble to him than to any other Clergyman on account of their Vicinity to, and his Attendance on, the Garrison of St. Johns. I should, therefore, conceive that he would be a very proper person, and that he would readily undertake it with an allowance of about £30 pr. Ann. to defray the Expense of travelling, &c. You may state this matter in such a manner as will be most agreeable to you; it will be promoting the Protestant Religion and Serving a Man with a large family. We are much surprised not to have heard of any steps being yet taken for the Establishment of Clergymen, in the Settlement above this—which are increasing amazingly and improving beyond any thing you can conceive; it is, therefore, a pitty they should be neglected. The Catholics and Dissenters are not idle; for strange to tell the former have made Converts of a few of the latter. Remember me Affectionately to all both Old and Young, and tell those it interests most, that when my Compensation proves to be such as will justify my joining you and them, that nothing shall tempt me to remain here. Until that is known, I think it would be

folly in the Extreme to give up what I now possess. Let me entreat you to write to me by way of New York, when your leisure will permit, giving an account how all our Accounts, &c., go on, and how the Compensation business is likely to turn out, I fear but poorly with us, for what reason God knows. Adieu, and believe me always sincerely and truly

Your Affectionate Brother and faithful Humble Servant,

To Colonel CLAUS. JOHN JOHNSON.

MONTREAL, 11th June, 1787.

DEAR BROTHER:

I have now before me your letters of the 7th and 31st of March, for which and the Books you sent to me, I return you many thanks. I have not yet had time to look into the History of the American War. The Mohawk Prayer Book seems Elegant and much enlarged. I am sure you must have had great trouble and much of your time taken up with it. I shall send those for Lord Dorchester by Mr. Langan, this day or to-morrow, as he is going down to receive the money I intended for the Mohawks and rest of the Six Nations, which I mean to take up with me, about the beginning of the Next Month. This, with the liberal presents making them constantly, cannot but keep them in good humour with us. Indeed they behave remarkably well, particularly the Southern and Western Nations. I do not think the Six Nations have mended their conduct since the return of their Agent from England. Mr. Dease is gone to Mackina, where Captain Scott (*Q*) is to Command. I am happy to hear that you begin to think more favorably of the affairs of the Loyalists, and hope we may not be disapointed. Our Payments hitherto are beyond my comprehension. I cannot suppose otherwise than that it is owing to the unsettled state of our Publick Accounts, for which they alone are to blame, and perhaps they consider our present Employs as placing us beyond the immediate necessity of a more ample payment, while so many others more distressed remain unprovided for. I gave Mr. Roome's Pamphlets to Mr. Edwards to dispose of; but he has not yet disposed of one of them. I will send them up to the new Settlements, and see what can be done with them there. No purchaser has yet offered for your house, nor has it a Tenant at present, Mr. Macbeath having left it on his failure. Perhaps we may get a Tenant for it when the Regiment now about to leave this is relieved. I hope by this Our Accounts have been taken up and that all will soon be finally settled to our satisfaction, and that you and my sister may find a Retirement to your Wishes. I fear my Situation will not justify my joining yon so soon, if at all, as I once thought and wished. I wish Lord Sydney and Mr. Nepean may not deceive you in the end. By all means push a Settlement of whatever you have been promised, and if the Affairs of this distressed Country was ever Settled upon a permanent footing, I think you would do well to return to it. I am sure at least it would be more agreeable to your family and friends, and you can live full as well and as reasonably here. At all events I

will be on the lookout for a good location for you, as land begins to increase much in value, as the New Settlements improve and extend. Lord Dorchester I am confident meant you no Injury by disallowing the Extra Pay you remind by letter or warrant. He considered it as a mistake, and did what any man would have thought it his duty to do, even were his Brother concerned. He has never said an unfriendly word of either you or Colonel Johnson, or made a remark upon my giving in to him the list of Agents, &c., to be continued, tho your absence might have been looked upon by a Man wishing to injure either of you as a sufficient reason. As you are all to be payed by Warrant in your own Names in future, I can no longer draw your pay; it will, therefore, be necessary that you and Guy Empower Some Person to receive it from the Pay Master, Mr. Winslow, from the 25th Decr. last. We are much Obliged to you and my sister for your Affectionate Attention to our little ones. I hope they have a proper sense of your Indulgence and behave as they ought. Our little ones here are in perfect health and full of life and spirits, and very diverting. Lady Johnson joins me in most Affectionate Regards to my sister, Billy, Poor little Nancy and to all friends. Accept my best and sincerest wishes for your success in every thing you are transacting, and believe me truely and sincerely Your Affectionate Friend and Brother

JOHN JOHNSON.

MONTREAL, 16th March, 1813.

MY DEAR SIR:

I received your letters of the 2d and 3d Instant, and now by desire of Sir George Prevost, send you, herewith, an extract of a letter from Earl Bathurst which he desires may be fully and Clearly Explained to all the Nations Interested, Impressing on their minds in the strongest manner possible, that now is the time for their united efforts, to rid their Country of their unjust Intruders and Invaders, in which they will be strongly aided by all the force that can be spared from this quarter, as well as by a very formidable diversion on the Sea Coast, Particularly to the Southward, where their Brethren will be supported in a manner that cannot fail of bringing those deluded people to a just and honorable Peace that will secure to them their Country, so unfairly possessed by the Americans. I represented what you desired to Sir George Prevost (*R*) in the strongest manner I could, relative to the Allowances, hitherto withheld from the Indian Department, as stated in your letter, to which he replied that if they continued to act as they had done, their services should be compensated, and that you should make the application though to Sir Roger N. Sheaffe (*S*) which you should lose no time in doing, and I cannot doubt its success. Our stores are nearly emptied of all the most necessary Articles, but large Supplies, Sir George Informs me, will be out early this Spring, and you may be assured no delay in forwarding them will be found here, and if the Communication will be secured, by our keeping the

command of the river and Lakes, you may probably get every thing that can be spared and provided here earlier. I am happy to learn that the Indians appear to be so unanimous and hearty in the cause; they have certainly saved your Province and should be treated accordingly. They have acted nobly, and I hope they have ere this given the finishing Blow to the Invading Armies. ☞ Never was there a War carried on so miserably as the Americans have this (*T*), without knowing how to Combine their force, or to Coöperate with one another, and by all accounts badly supplied with provisions and every other necessary for carrying on a War. I hope as soon as our Navy, and perhaps a united English and Spanish force, begin to operate to the Southward, you will be a more equal match for them, and that an honorable Peace with a more favourable and extended boundary will be the result of the most unjust, unprovoked and unnatural War that was ever Waged against any Nation, and which Providence, hitherto, seems to have frowned upon; for never was there more disgrace Attached to any set of men than there has been to them, in every Attempt they have made, to disturb the Peace and happiness of an unoffending People (*U*). The disgrace and total destruction of the Grand United Force, under that fiend and disturber of the Peace of the World, Bonaparte, is a further proof of the just Interference of Providence, and I hope will lead to the downfall of the Greatest of Tyrants. Let me hear from you on every Occasion worth Communicating, particularly the result of General Harrison's Expedition (*V*). Our frontiers here are nearly Abandoned by the Enemy to strengthen their Upper Posts, particularly Sackets Harbour which might have been destroyed (*W*) with all their Shipping—which would have secured to us the Command of Ontario which without the greatest Exertions now, I fear will be lost (*X*).

I am, dear Sir, your most Affectionate and faithful friend,

WM. CLAUS, Esqr., JOHN JOHNSON.

&c., &c., &c.

Return the enclosed as I have not taken a Copy of it.

MONTREAL, 26th May, 1813.

SIR:

I have received your letters of the 16th April, by Lieutenant Dudly, and of the 14th May by Express, and was in hopes to have had another by the last Express, with General Proctor's Account of General Clay's Defeat (*Y*) and Death, and his return to Detroit, which I am sorry for, as it will give the Americans time to receive reinforcements to strengthen their Position, or to retire; the latter I rather think will be the case. I hope you may be able to hold out till the Reinforcements [are] on their way, and the fleet goes to your aid, which I have no doubt will clear the Lake, even, I hope, if their New Ship gets out in time. The second Battalion of the 41st are here, I suppose on their way up with many others. I am sending off all the Indians I can spare,

with six Officers to Sir George, so that I think he will have about three hundred, either to attack, or defend; the latter I have no Idea of, as I suppose, all their force are bending your Way. The Goods I sent in twenty-one or two Trains for you, were stopped [at] Prescott on account of the Roads breaking up, and I have not heard that they have been forwarded since, though I gave Sir George an account of them when going up. We have Nothing left, and none yet Arrived from England, though many ships have Arrived since the Transports. I hope Mr. Rogers may not fall in with them. I am surprised we have not heard of Dickson's Arrival with the Western Indians. I hope he will not fail, or be too late to afford you Aid, for I think the Campaign will not last long, after our fleet and forces get in motion, having failed in all their principal Objects, and being closely Blockaded and pressed, on the Sea Shore; I see nothing left for them, but to sue for the best terms they can get, and if the Indians stick together, and do not forsake us, they may obtain their end in fixing their own Boundaries. You have not said whether you have Recommended Young Anderson to be put on the footing of our Lieutenants and Interpreters which I think I wrote you to do. I think Peter John, Captain John's son, who writes and speaks English very well, should, from his father's services, as well as from his own Abilities, be appointed an Interpreter; one of Brant's sons also. If not too much given to liquor their father's services merit this Attention to them, as well as Policy. I therefore wish they could be put on the footing of our Lieutenants and Interpreters. I have mentioned it to Ferguson, and suggested the Idea of Peter John's memorialing the President, now that the Commander of the forces is on the spot.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most Obedient Humble Servant

Colonel Wm. Claus, &c., &c., &c. — John Johnson.

30th June, 1786.

I hope you received my letter by Capt. Brant, since which nothing remarkable has happened with regard to our Claims, except a temporary payment is voted by Parliament of abo't £180,000 by Lottery as last year for those Loyalists who are gone thro' their Examination and are reported by the Commiss'rs and it's supposed their respective Quotas will be paid them shortly. Mr. Pitt gives hopes of Intsts. being A'rd Gov't from the present time, but is not for recommending the Parliament to fund their Claims in a National Debt or Manner as he says in such a case the Loyalists might insist of having their whole Estimate of Loses paid them, and sue for it; however nothing of the kind could be determined untill the whole of the Loyalists' claims were examined and reported by the Commiss'rs who are abroad and here, which it's supposed wont be this 12 month. At the same time their case and situations daily gains ground with the Public, and now and then Advocates stand up for them: viz., Mr. Coke, a late Commissi'r, who

you may remember was a very harsh and strict Examiner into their Claims, has the other day declared in Parli't that he was sorry of having done so after mature reflection upon those sufferers distressful situation, and for which reason he resign'd that office upon finding that even upon his lowering their Claims as much as in his power, they were not dealt with as Generously as he expected—likewise Sir George Howard, Mr. Dempster and others are their warm friends and it's imagined they have not an Ill wisher in both Houses, and a Delay of final settlement of their Claims may prove serviceable to them. Nothing has been done about our Pub'c Acc'ts, of which I suppose Mr. Chew will inform you, and I find it will be required I should produce Vouchers for my Officers and Rangers pay. I think I gave in Returns and Vouchers for pay of the latter, but don't reme'br to have seen any for Mr. Langan, Assi'nt and Lieut's pay, in which case, as I have not power to write him now, I beg your mentioning it to him of sending me half-yearly recepts. from 25 Decr., 1777, to 24 Decr., 1782, of the same by the first safe Opport'y, and Dupli'ts by the Fall ships as Mr. Whigglesworth thinks my acc'ts will not be examined before that. I had a fit of the Gout lately in my right hand, and the swelling and stiffness in the joints of my fingers not having subsided, makes it very tiresome to me to hold the pen. You will, therefore, please to make an apology for not writing Mrs. Claus, altho' for aught I know she may be on her way here, as I am told Mr. Dobie is to bring Mrs. Grant over in the course of this Summer which would be a good Opportunity for Her to embrace. I have sent you by Mr. Maitland the latest papers, by which you can see Mr. Pitt moved Parlia't for pensions for Sr. Guy Carleton and Mr. B. Watson, the one £1000 for his Military Services in the saving of Quebec in '75 and '76, and the other for being Economous-Commiss'y-Gen'l I think the Canada and Moh'k Indians ought not to be forgot as their beating off Genl. Schuyler and Montgom'y from St. Johns (*Z*) was the essential saving of Quebec and all Canada, &c. I am told Sir Guy's Instructions are not made out yet and not a syllable heard of his departure. Lt. Col. Chr. Carleton and Lady Ann are to go to Quebec in Capt. Boyd some time in July. The Parliament is to break up in a few days, and nothing will be done abt. the disposing of the Crown Lands till next session.—Willliam and Warren were well a few days ago when I heard from them, and Nancy passed three or four days of her Whitsun[tid]e holidays here with Julia who was taken with the Measels while at our House. Nancy had some of her Harp'd Lessons with her, and play'd in Concert with me and Bill. She improved greatly in that Instr't and will become in a short time Mistress of it, having a natural turn and easy way of play'g, sings with it very clear and with propriety Italian and English Songs. Major and Mrs. Leake (*Aa*) are living at Mort Lake, where Nancy spent also some days. Mr. Watts (*Bb*) I hear was well, often in the Country. Col. Johns'n (*Cc*), as D'y Agent for the N. York Loyalists, had much bus's on hand, while their Affairs were discussed before Parliament. Yet not without his Physical Attendants even in the House, he begins to walk

more than usual but continues taking Drs. stuffs and has no Appetite. I cannot think of anything more worth Communicating. My most affectionate wishes attend you and Lady Johnson and believe me, Dr. B.

[NOTE.—Hon. Douglas Brymner, Archivist, Ottaway, Canada, to whom I am indebted for many courtesies, is at loss as to the writer of this letter, which is evidently from London, England, and addressed either to Col. Daniel Claus or to Sir John Johnson, Bart.—EDITOR.]

FROM P. LANGAN, INDIAN DEP'T, MONTREAL, TO COL. [DANIEL] CLAUS IN LONDON.

MONTREAL, 18th Feby, 1787.

DEAR COLONEL:

No express yet from the upper Country. We are in daily expectation of hearing the result of the Council at the Huron Village.

Mr. Chew's letter in Octr. to Sir John gave us an account of Mrs. Claus and Mrs. Campbell's safe Arrival on your side of the great Lake [Atlantic].

In Sir John's letter to me this day, he is of opinion the Council will not break up at Quebec before the month of April. ☞ He has hitherto been in the minority, for which he prides himself and with great Justice, for the abilities which this session has called forth in him, abilities which none but his most intimate friends thought him possessed of, and his sentiments on every question in debate will forever reflect the greatest honour on him.

On the subject of the wished for alteration in tenures of the lands granted to Loyalists, which I fear will be carried against them, he entered a protest against the proceedings of his associates in the committee of Council, which has astonished all the Council and the Public in general for its strong and nervous language and the propriety of his reasoning, and Mr. McGill of this town, who was at Quebec at the time, calls it an elegant composition; but what will surprize you most is his accompanying this Protest at delivering it in Council, with the most able speech that has been heard within the walls of that House for many years.

After this it will not be matter of astonishment to you to hear that he is become the favorite of the English Inhabitants of the Province, and all the National prejudices of the *Chosen people of the Lord* (*Dd*) (a few of Mahane's friends excepted) are vanished. ☞

It is very extraordinary that Lieut.-Governor Hope and Mahane should be such strenous advocates for the continuation of the French Laws and Customs, and I can account for it in no other way than the Doctor thinking his situation and circumstances in a crazy condition, and in hopes of bettering his fortune by standing forth the champion of the Canadians and making the poor credulous wretches believe that their Interests and the English settlers

are separate and unconnected. And for this purpose he has been very industrious with Panet the Lawyer at Quebec (not the Judge) and Rouville and De Bon of this place, to impress false ideas on the minds of the vulgar Canadians, of the views of the English in the reforms prayed for in the Reports of the Committees of Quebec and Montreal—and to give their iniquitous proceedings a feasable appearance they have got great numbers of the Canadians to sign a protest against the Reports of both Committees (altho one half of the members of each were French), and such credulous and unsteady beings are they, that many who signed the protest had six days before addressed a note of thanks to the Committee for their able and impartial statement of the present Laws, Commerce and Police of the country and the remedies humbly submitted to the consideration of the Legislative Council.

The Chief Justice, Mr. Finlay, Wm. Grant, Mr. Pownal, Colonel Caldwell and John Collins have always voted with Sir John. Lord Dorchester's opinion is not known? I cannot think the Chief Justice's opinions militate against his Lordship's, and I think it impossible that Mr. Smith can be ignorant of them.

Sir John is to be appointed one of a standing Board thro whom all the accounts of the Province are to pass.

I have scribbled more about politics in this letter than ever I did before or perhaps ever will do again.

Fleury Dechambaults of the 44th takes this, to whom Sir John commits the care of his attested State of Public Accounts and the vouchers from 25th June, 1784, to 25th June, 1786. Some charges in the Upper Country Accounts may be rejected, and yet I will answer, the whole together are better vouched than any others of the Department since his Father's [Sir William Johnson's] time.

The Commissioners of Forfeitures certificate of part of Sir John's Estate is forwarded to Mr. Chew, and as the latter will not leave London before Sir John's Public Accounts are finally passed, I dare say the sales of the remaining part will be sent to him before that time. I forgot to mention in my letter to him by Mr. Dechambaults that the receipts to Sir John's Public Accounts left with Mr. Chew, which he required from Col. Butler and Mr. Dease, are not yet come to hand, altho I wrote for them in the beginning of December last, immediately after Sir John received Mr. Chew's letter.

I beg you will present my respects to Major Leake and tell him I am to receive one hundred pounds New York Cy. from Todd and McGill by order of Com'y McLean for the Negro left with him; but all my interest cou'd not procure a Bill for it to be sent by this Mail. I shall write to the Major by the next opportunity. I have a long time expected a letter from you, not having received any for a considerable time before Mrs. Claus' departure. I hope I have not given you any *just* cause of offence. If you think so, I know you will do me the justice to tell me of it, and shou'd I be unfortunate enough to labour under your displeasure, I can never think unworthily of you, and

no alteration in my fortune or circumstances can alter that sincere friendship with which I am and ever will be, Dear Colonel,

Your much obliged & obt. Servt. P. LANGAN (*Ee*).

Endorsed: From Mr. Langan, Montreal 18th Feby., 1787.
Received 10 April, do.

IN REGARD TO THE INDIANS MENTIONED IN THE LETTERS, &c., PRECEDING.

It was the Editor's intention to have gone at length into the consideration of the Indian Tribes under the jurisdiction of Colonel A. S. de P., and their peculiarities and localities; but the labor proved too great since the details were scattered through a library of works on the subject, not condensed in any one or even a few volumes. The investigation to have made it clear would have involved the presentation of maps, which required personal labor as well as great expense. Therefore the curious reader is referred to the following work as the most likely to repay examination:

"THE ‖ AMERICAN GAZETTEER, ‖ containing a distinct Account of all the parts ‖ of the ‖ NEW WORLD: ‖ their Situation, Climate, Soil, Produce, former ‖ and perfect condition; ‖ Commodities, Manufactures, and Commerce, ‖ Together with ‖ An accurate Account of the Cities, Towns, Ports, Bays, Rivers, Lakes, Mountains, Passes and Fortifications. ‖ The whole intended to exhibit ‖ *The present State of Things in that Part of the Globe* and the Views and Interests of the several Powers who have Possessions in America. ‖ Illustrated with proper MAPS. ‖ In three volumes. ‖ London: ‖ Printed for A. Millar, and J. and R. Tonson, ‖ in the Strand. 1762. (New York Society Library.) See MAPS.

Vol. 2. A new and correct Map of the Provinces of New England, New York and Canada or New France, to face Title page, Vol. 2. Very valuable for location of Indian tribes.

Vol. 3. A New and Accurate Map of the Provinces of Pennsylvania, Virginia, Maryland and New Jersey, to face article Pennsylvania. Very valuable for location of Indian tribes. Read in this connection article Indians, Vol. 3, which is very detailed and interesting.

"The DELAWARES were an Indian nation formerly numerous and powerful, and who possessed part of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and New York. This name was doubtless given them by the Europeans; for they call themselves LENNI-LENAPE, that is, '*Indian men*;' or *Woopanachky*, which signifies '*a people living towards the rising sun.*' They now reside about half way between Lake Erie and Ohio River. They are an ingenious and intelligent people; and like the Six Nations, are celebrated for their courage, peaceable disposition, and powerful alliances. Almost all the neighbouring nations are in league with them, especially the Mahikan, Shawanoes, Cherokees, Twichtwees, Wawiachtanos, Kikapus, Moshkos, Tuckachshas, Chippeways, Ottawas, Putewoatamies, and Kaskaskias. The Delawares were lately hostile, but made peace with the United States, 1795, and ceded some lands." Morse's *American Gazetteer*, 1795.

"Major-General Anthony Wayne put an end to the destructive war [1794] with the Indians by a treaty of peace and friendship concluded at Greenville, August 3, 1795, which was ratified by the President of the United States, December 22, 1795. The Indian tribes, signed the treaty in the following order: *Wyandots*, *Delawares*, *Shawanoes*, *Ottawas*, *Chipawas*, *Ottawas*, *Patawatames* of the river of *St. Joseph*, *Patawatames* of *Huron*, *Miamies*, *Miamis* and *Eel River*, *Eel River tribe*, *Miamis*, *Kickapoos* and *Kaskaskias*, *Delawares of Sandusky*, and some of the *Six Nations living at Sandusky*. These Indians ceded to the United States various tracts of land from 2 to 12 miles square, near the different posts in the N. W. Territory." *Ibid.*

COPIES AND TRANSLATIONS

OF ORDERS AND DIRECTIONS OF

ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER,

MAJOR 8TH OR KING'S FOOT, 1776–79, GOVERNOR OF MICHILIMACQUENAC AND ITS DEPENDENCIES, ETC.

Mr. William Kelby, Assistant Librarian, N. Y. Historical Society, furnished the following references from works in its collection regarding this Collection, originally published many years since.

Lanman's *History of Michigan*, pages 139, 140, &c. [Mistaken or perverted.]

[Lanman would lead his readers to suppose that de Peyster was a hot-headed despot in cutting up the belts. This was Lt. Gov. Hamilton's and not Maj. de Peyster's character. The two officials are confounded. Maj. de Peyster was a very gentle Christian gentleman, although decided in the discharge of his absolute duty.]

Heckewelder's *Narrative*, pages 229, 289, 291 to 297, 332 to 337, 343,* 346, 348, 356.

Loskiel's *History of the Missions*, Part III., pages 114,** 133, 150, 153, 165 to 168, 172, 187, 190,*** 191, 193, (303), 200, **** (205).

[** 167, de Peyster in this case did nothing but what his duty required.

168, "The Governor approved himself as a servant of God.

*** 190, Maj. de Peyster gave a tract of land to the Christian Indians, thirty miles from *Detroit*, where they formed a settlement under his protection. They had hitherto been between two fires, as it were, from the Whigs (Rebels) and from the Tories (British and Indians attached to Royal cause), de Peyster saved them.]

**** "Toward the end of May, 1784, the Governor of Detroit, now Colonel de Peyster, removed to Niagara, and both the missionaries and the believing Indians sincerely regretted the loss of this humane man, their kind friend and benefactor."

Pennsylvania Archives, vol. x., pages 86 to 90.

Ephraim Douglass to *the Secretary of War*, August 18, 1783.

Morgan's *Celebrated Canadians*, page 100.

Historical Record of the 8th, or King's Regiment of Foot, page 66–72.

Manual of the Common Council of New York, 1861.

Second Edition, "*The* de Peyster Family *in connection with the Colonial History of New York*" (pages 556–576). [571 to 575—compare "The Watts-de Peyster Genealogical References," by J. W. de P. Pages 7, 8 to 10, 239-240, 246.]

Memoirs Historical Society, Pennsylvania, vol. xii., Heckewelder's *Indian Nations*, styles Col. de Peyster "a noble and generous character," "an honor to the British [he was a New Yorker] name."

"A better specimen of an Englishman was Colonel Arent Schuyler de Peyster, who succeeded Hamilton in command at Detroit. He had a difficult task to perform, for the whole French population sympathized with the revolted colonies; but he executed it with such tact, discretion and kindness that he won 'golden opinions from all sorts of people.' He was constantly harassed by secret foes and open enemies—the most powerful

among the latter being the indefatigable George Rogers Clark, the one dream of whose life was the capture of this stronghold. Failing in this, Clark went to a drunkard's grave, and so missed a niche in our history alongside of John Sevier and Isaac Shelby. That he failed was owing altogether to the military skill and untiring vigilance of Colonel De Peyster. De Peyster was a thorough Englishman, though born in New York, and belonging to an old Huguenot family. He was a man of fine cultivation, and, with his accomplished lady, gave a high tone to the Detroit society of that period. After the close of the war he settled in Scotland, and became the friend of Burns, who in 1796 was a private in his regiment of Dumfries Volunteers It was to him that Burns addressed his 'Poem on Life.' * * * De Peyster was himself a poet of some pretensions, having conducted a rhyming correspondence with Burns, and published a volume of poems."

Harper's Magazine, August, 1886, vol. lxxiii., page 335.

WASHINGTON-IRVINE CORRESPONDENCE: | The Official Letters which | passed between Washington and Brig.-Gen. William | Irvine and between Irvine and others, con | cerning Military Affairs in the | West from 1781 to 1783. | Arranged and Annotated, | with an Introduction containing an outline of | events occurring previously in the | trans-Alleghany country. | Illustrated. | By C. W. BUTTERFIELD, | Author of "Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky," "History of | the Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet," | and other works. | MADISON, WIS.: | DAVID ATWOOD, | 1882. | Hereinafter referred to as BUTTERFIELD'S W.-I. C., or simply as W.-I. C. This is, indeed, a remarkable work.

FRENCH ORIGINALS.

A MONSIEUR. No. I. (Copy.)

MONSIEUR LANGLADE: (1) ORDRES.

MONSIEUR:

Vous prenderez la commandement des sauvages de cette poste qui consiste des Gens de plusieurs nations et quelques voluntaires Canadiens, avec qui vous poursuiverez votre route pour vous joindre au surintendant des affaires sauvages dans le voisinage de Montreal (2), ou bien l'officier qui commandera les troupes du Roi dans cette Quartier de qui vous receverez des ordres alors.

Vos ferrez votre possible de nuire aux Rebles partout ou vous les rencontrerez et en tout vous conduire avec votre prudence et Humanitè ordinaires.

A Michilimaquenac,
Le 4 Juliette, 1776.

[☞ The very day of the Declaration of Independence.]

(Copy.) No. II.

ORDRES.

Tout Traiteur est ordonner d'embarquer deux ou trois sauvages sur leur Canots en cas que Messrs. Langlade et Gaultier n'ayant pas assè de Canots pour les amner a ce poste, pour le service du Roi; Mons. Langlade les fournissant des Vivres.

Donné au Fort de Michilimaquenac,
10th May, 1778.

[L. S.]

AT. S. DE PEYSTER,
Major Commandant.

LXX.

No. III.

MESSIEURS : (Copy.)

Par le pouvoir qui m'a eté donné par son Excellence le General Haldimand, Command't en Chef les Armees de sa Majesteé Le Roi (de) la Grand Bretagne en Canada, etc., etc., etc.

De faire tout dans mon pouvoir pour assister le Lieut. Governeur Hamilton (3) dans tout ces enterprises contre les Rebelles, at come J'ay appris par lettre du Lieut. Gouveneur qu'il est aller deloger les Rebelles des Illinois me prie de lui donner assistance : Il vous est ordonné par ces presentes de partir (et) tacher de lever les nations ; Monsieur Langlade depuis la Grand Riviere, jusquá St. Josephe, ou sont les *Court Oreilles* et les *Ganteaux* (*Sauteaux?*) (4) les faisant assembler a St. Josephe sans perte de temps.

Monsieur Gautier ira droit a St. Josephe (5) la s'addressant Mons. Louison Chevallier, pour lui requerir d'assister Monsieur Ainse en fait d'assembler les *Poutouatamies* pendant que lui Gautier faire son possible pour avoir Intelligence du situation de Monsieur Hamilton de laquelle faisant son report a Monsieur Langlade. Ils fairont leur possible de lui joindre par le chemin le plus court, ou de decendre la riviere des Illinois si il est possible, et mieux porté pour seconder les operations de Monsieur Hamilton.

Comme l'on ne peut repondre des evenements en cas que Monsieur Hamilton est relaché et retourné au Detroit ; alors si vous ne vous croyez pas assez fort de monde pour faire coup sur les *Caskakias*, ou au *Cahokias* (6) : vous renverez les sauvages dans leur Hivernemens et vous gagnerez par le chemin le plus court vos differents posts.

Monsieur Langlade a La Bay (7) et Monsieur Gautier dans le Mississippi, la, tacher de tenir les nations bien disposés pour le service jusqu'a nouvelles ordres.

Dans cet enterprise Il vous est recommendé de dire au Guerriers d'usser d'Humanité envers les prisoniers et autres qui pourront se trouver sans armes comme il-y-a bien des commercians Anglais retenu de force parmis—

* *

Les prisoniers seront payé.

Comme les nations en General ont deja eu beaucoup de presents de sa Majesté il vous est recommendé de faire aussi peu de frais que la nature du service permettent en leur donnant auqune chose que ne soit absolument necessaire.

Donné au Fort Michilimaquenac, ce
26m Octobre, 1778.

[L. S.] AT. S. DE PEYSTER,

A Monsr. le Capitaine Langlade } Major du Regt: du Roi et Command't
et le Lieut. Gautier. } du dit post et dependences.

No. IV.

(Copy.)

INSTRUCTIONS POUR MONSR. LANGLADE.

MONSIEUR:

Il vous et requis pour le bien du service de sa Majesté de partir d'ici fair votre possible de lever les Gens de La fourche Milwaukie, les Puants [Indian tribe, Stinkards] et autres bordant sur le Lac Michigan et avec eux vous depechez de joindre Monsr. Bennett a Chicagou, et si en cas Monsieur Bennett est passée en avant de lui suivre a Grand pas, lui ategnant avant son arrivé au Piè [Foot of the Lake (?) or Pey, see (4) page 9?] et de travailler avec lui pour le bien du service conforme aux ordres qu'il tiennent de moi.

Donné au Fort Michilimakinac,

1re Juliet, 1779. AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

[L. S.]

TRANSLATIONS OF THE ABOVE ORDERS, ETC.

To MR. No. I.

MR. LANGLADE: ORDERS.

SIR:—You are to take upon you the command of the savages (Indians) attached to this post, consisting of detachments from several nations (tribes), with some Canadian Volunteers, and proceed with them to join the Superintendent of Indian affairs in the neighborhood of Montreal, or the commandant of the King's troops in that district, from whom you will then receive further orders; Annoying the Rebels wherever you may meet with them, and in everything conducting yourself with your usual prudence and humanity.

At Michilmaquenac,

the 4th July, 1776.

[☞ The very day of the Declaration of Independence.]

(Copy.) No. II.

ORDERS:

All traders are ordered to embark two or three savages (Indians) on their Canoes in case that Messrs. Langlade and Gaultier have not enough Canoes to carry them to this post for the King's service; Mr. Langlade furnishing them with provisions.

Given at the Fort of Michilimaquenac,

10th May, 1778. AT. S. DE PEYSTER,

[L. S.] Major Commanding.

LXXII.

No. III.

SIRS :—In accordance with the power that has been given to me by his Excellency General HALDIMAND, Commanding-in-Chief the Armies of his Majesty the King of Great Britain, in Canada, etc., etc., etc. :

To do all in my power to assist the Lieut.-Governor Hamilton in all his enterprises against the Rebels, and as I have learned by letter from the Lieut.-Governor that he has gone to dislodge the Rebels of the Illinois, and prays me to give him assistance: you are ordered by these presents to go and try to arouse the (Indian) nations; Mr. LANGLADE, from the Great River (8) (*Ottawa (?) la Grande Riviere*) as far as St. Joseph (St. Josephe) where the Short Ears (*Court Oreilles*) and the *Ganteaux* (Leapers, *Sauteux?*) are (located) causing them to assemble at St. Joseph (*St. Josephe*) without loss of time.

Mr. GAUTIER will go straight to St. Joseph (*St. Josephe*), there addressing himself to Mr. Louison Chevalier, to require him to assist Mr. AINSE in assembling the Pottawattamies (*Poutouatamies*), while Gauthier does his utmost to acquire intelligence of the situation of Mr. HAMILTON, making his report thereof to Mr. LANGLADE. They must do their utmost to join him by the shortest route, or to descend the river of the Illinois, if it is possible, and if such a movement is better calculated to second the operations of Mr. HAMILTON.

As no one can be responsible for the events in case that Mr. HAMILTON is released and returned to the Detroit; then, if you do not think yourself strong enough in men to make a decisive attack on the Caskakias, or (6) the Cahokias (9), you will send the savages to their Winter quarters, and you will regain your different posts by the shortest routes.

Mr. LANGLADE, at "The Bay," and Mr. GAUTIER, in the Mississippi (region), will try to keep the nations well disposed for the service until new orders.

In this enterprise you are recommended to exhort the Warriors to use humanity towards the prisoners, and others who may be found without arms, as there are many English merchants retained by force among the enemy.
* * *

The prisoners will be ransomed.

As the nations in general have already had many presents from his Majesty, you are recommended to incur as little expense as the nature of the service will permit of, in giving them nothing which is not absolutely necessary.

Given at Fort Michilimaquenac this
26th October, 1778. AT. S. DE PEYSTER,
[L. S.] Major of the King's Regt., and Commandant of the said post and dependencies.

To Mr. the Captain Langlade and the Lieut. Gautier.

LXXIII.

No. IV.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR MR. LANGLADE.

SIR:—You are required for the good of the service of his Majesty, to set out from this place to do your utmost to levy the People of Milwaukie Fork, the Indian Tribe, Stinkards (*Puants*), and others bordering on Lake Michigan, and with them hurry and join Mr. BENNETT at Chicagou, and if, in case Mr. BENNETT has gone farther on, to follow him by forced marches, so as to overtake him before his arrival at the Foot of the Lake (*Pié*) [Pey, see (4) page 9], and work with him for the good of the service, conformable to the orders he holds from me.

Given at the Fort Machilimackinac,
1st July, 1779.

[L. S.] AT. S. DE PEYSTER.

NOTES.

(1). M : DE LANGLADE was a Canadian gentleman especially esteemed by the Indians. He was Captain of the Colonial troops under the French Dominion. He had acquired a very great influence over the Indians inhabiting the country about Detroit and Machilimackinac. In the Summer of 1759, he led 200 warriors down to Montreal for the defence of the French colonies against WOLFE.

(2). The chain of fortified posts which the English occupied at this time to control the Indians of the, then, far West, comprised Forts Frontenac and Niagara, at the two extremities of Lake Ontario; of Buffalo, Presq'ile, the island, formerly a peninsula, protecting the port of Erie; and Sandoské or Sandusky, on the Southern shore of Lake Erie; of Detroit, and the Miamis toward the western extremity of the same lake; of Michilimakinac and Green Bay (*Baie Verte* or *Baie des Puants* (HOOGINS, 130) (Stinkards, "Opossums") (the name of a tribe well known and thus recognized by the French) on Lake Michigan; beside those on the Ohio, the Wabash, and the Illinois.

(3). HENRY HAMILTON, Esq'r, succeeded *General* HALDIMAND as temporary Governor in 1785, but was soon, next year, 1786, superseded by *Colonel* HOPE.

(4). These were branches of the Hurons or Wyandots, driven westward by the Iroquois to the northern shores of Lake Superior, who settled first on the Island of St. Joseph under the protection of the Ojibwas. *Ganteaux* must be a mistake and intended for *Sauteux* or *Sautaux* a branch of the Ojibwas or Chippewas, located on the Winnipeg, called the "Sauteur" by the French. Whether this term refers to the character of this river, full of falls or rapids, or tumbling water, or to the peculiar bounding dances of the Indians, is not settled.

(5). The *St. Joseph* referred to was 40 miles from Michilmakinac.

(6). The "*Caskakias*" and "*Cahokias*" were tribes of the Illinois, and from them were named the two first settlements of the French in Illinois. (See *Charlevoix's Voyage*, Letters 28, page 227-'8).—*Honorable* C. J. WALKER, *Detroit*, October 29, 1867.

(7). "*La Baie*" was the settlement on GREEN BAY which was called "*Baie des Puants.*" The PUANTS were our Winnebagoes. (See SHEA'S "*Discovery of the Mississippi*," page 10 of MARQUETTE'S Journal. *Honorable* C. J. WALKER, *Detroit*, October 29, 1867. "*La Baie*," "The Bay" west end of Lake Superior, LANMAN'S map.

(8). The St. Lawrence is often called La Grande Riviere, but this must refer to the *Ottawa*, which is still known on the map as *Grand River or the Ottawa*, Utawas. There is a Grand River in Michigan; Lansing, the capital, is on it.

"Lt.-Gov. HAMILTON (sometimes styled *Col.* HAMILTON), had gone with troops to Port Vincennes, and was there, together with his officers, taken prisoner by an American army under General CLARKE, and by him taken to Virginia." (HECKEWELDER'S "*Nar-*

rative," 203.) "It was in February, 1779." This CLARKE was the Virginian Col. GEORGE ROGERS CLARKE, the "*Hannibal of the West*." HAMILTON was at *Fort St. Vincent*. He was taken to Williamsburg, the original capital of Virginia, near the battlefield of May 5, 1862, so famous for the glorious conduct of KEARNY and HOOKER and the Federal troops present. It was on this occasion, February, 1779, it took CLARKE, with his "intrepid Spartan band," "five days to cross the drowned lands of the Wabash, having often to wade up to their breasts in water"—"often upwards of two leagues," adds BURK, a feat commemorated by a picture which is, or was in 1861, hanging in the office of the Secretary of War, at Washington, D. C.—(HOWE'S "Virginia Historical Collections," 116; BURK'S "Virginia," iv., 319–324.)

(9). These tribes were two of the five subdivisions of the Illinois. The former belonged in the country drained by the Kaskaskia, the latter in St. Clair County, Illinois, along the creek of the same name, which falls into the Mississippi from the East, about five miles below St. Louis. The great Pontiac was murdered in the territory of this tribe. Thus *Major*, afterwards *Colonel*, ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER, exercised jurisdiction from the Mississippi *west*, to the Ottawa east, and from Lake Superior, north, to the Ohio, south, 800 by 700 miles, a pretty extensive sphere of supervision even for this day of telegraphs, railroads and steamboats.

EXTRACTS FROM THE LOG BOOKS.

(IN THE POSSESSION OF BREV. MAJ.-GEN. JOHN WATTS DE PEYSTER,)

KEPT BY

CAPTAIN ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER,

NEPHEW OF COLONEL ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER,

GIVING THE DETAILS OF HIS DISCOVERY OF THE DE PEYSTER AND OTHER ISLANDS IN THE PACIFIC OCEAN, MAY, 1819.

THURSDAY, 13th May, 1819.

Noon, Duke of York Island, West—Northerly 20 miles.

FRIDAY, 14th May, 1819.

At noon I was apprehensive that either my Longitude or that of the Duke of York's Island was incorrect, as I was by observation about 18 miles from it. The weather beautiful. From the masthead the trees were first discovered, and after running 15 miles by Log, it bore N.W. by N. about 6 miles; at this distance it had the appearance of small separate clumps of trees, and it was only by going aloft any connection could be seen. Had there been a commanding breeze, I should have approached much nearer, and probably got a supply of cocoanuts, but being nearly calm, I judged it most prudent to keep on. This island is certainly very dangerous to approach in dark weather, or at night.

Variation 10 min. 13 sec. East.

Longitude, Chronometer.....173 deg. 24 min.
Acct.....173 deg. 01 min.

Latitude, 8 deg. 37 min. South.

SATURDAY, 15th May, 1819.

Pleasant weather and breeze. Employed cleaning ship. Saw and passed some very strong ripplings.

Longitude, Chronometer .....176 deg. 01 min.
Acct .....175 deg. 27 min.

Latitude, 8 deg. 31 min. South.

SUNDAY, 16th May, 1819.

Pleasant breeze and weather. Passed through a strong rippling, at four o'clock, A. M. Performed Divine service at 8 o'clock.

Longitude, Chronometer and Lunars.....179 deg. 08 min.
Acct .....177 deg. 53 min.

Latitude, 8 deg. 32 min. South.

MONDAY, 17th May, 1819.

Pleasant breeze and weather, under all sail. At 3 hours and 45 min. A. M., while under all sail, the man at the helm discovered a low white sandy beach, to appearance a cable's length ahead. Hauled immediately to the wind on the starboard tack, in studding-sails, and fortunately, 4 hours 30 minutes, just cleared the Land.

At 8 Hove to, to obtain the Latitude and Longitude of the Islands.

Longitude, Chronometer ....181 deg.
Acct .....177 deg. 34 min.

Latitude, 8 deg. 21 min. South.

ELLICE'S GROUP.

When the day broke I bore up and, standing to the Southward and Westward about half an hour, the land we had so miraculously escaped during the night again appeared. The cocoanut trees were the first objects we saw, then the low beach, and, on approaching within 4 miles, a large group of Islands, apparently consisting of 14 in a circular direction and united by sand banks, presented themselves. I have attempted from the bearings and probable distances, to delineate them in plan No. 1. I did not think myself justified in either approaching them nearer or waiting longer than to procure to a certainty their Latitude and Longitude, the latter was certainly a duty I owed to every other navigator, as well as myself. Accordingly at 8 o'clock A. M. I hove to and remained until twelve. The following is the result of my observations.

On the 16th inst. I had four sights of the Sun and Moon, worked separately, they gave at noon on that day, Long.:

179 deg. 3 min. W.
179 deg. 8 min.
179 deg. 15 min.
179 deg. 8 min.
} Mean 179 deg. 8 min. 30 sec. Lunars.

Chronometer—

507—179 deg. 5 min.
507—179 deg. 12 min. } Mean 179 deg. 8 min. 30 sec.
508—179 deg. 12 min.

On the 17th the moon was not visible, but at 8 o'clock and 20 minutes I had good sights at the Sun for my chronometers, when the center or Oscar's Islands bore S.E. by S. 4 miles per compass, which gave the vessel's Longitude at that time 180 deg. 56 min. West.

Difference of the Longitude E. of the bearing.....	2
Longitude centre of the Group or Oscar's Islands West	180 deg. 54 min.
Latitude noon South.....	8 deg. 21 min.
Difference Latitude by Calculation.....	8 min South.
Latitude centre of the Group or Oscar's Islands South.....	8 deg. 29 min.

I sincerely trust that the above may be found correct, less on account of any credit that may attach to myself, than for the security of others who might at some future period follow this track, and not prove equally fortunate with myself in clearing this dangerous group. Had the vessel not sailed remarkably fast and instantly obeyed the helm, some fragment, perhaps, picked up at no distant date, would have been all, that, in a few moments, would have remained of the Rebecca; and the only evidence that these Islands had ever before been seen, and proved the Graves of their Discoverers. We saw no signs of population. They were covered with cocoanut trees, and low brush, in many places to the water's edge. The breakers between the Islands were tremendous, the centre, which appeared like a large basin from the masthead, smooth as a mill pond. After getting my observation, I again bore up and made sail to the Westward and Northward. As I have every reason to believe these Islands were never before seen by any other European, I have given them the name of Ellice's Group, in honor of my friend and benefactor, E. Ellice, Esq., M. P. for Coventry, and as a small evidence of my grateful recollection of his kindness. The first Island on which we so nearly struck, I call Escape Island, the one adjoining, Rebecca Island, and two, united by a small sand bar, and which appeared the centre of the group, Oscar's Islands, one detached from the rest to the Westward, Brown's Island (see plan No. 1), in honor of my good friend, G. Brown.

THURSDAY, 18th May, 1819.

Wind East, moderate and cloudy, made sail at 6, in studding-sails to keep the vessel under command; at 8 o'clock and 30 minutes saw very distinctly a large fire on our starboard bow, shortened sail and hove to to the

Southward. Tremendous thunder, lightning and rain. Tacked occasionally to keep our station until daylight, when we saw the land from N. by W. to N.W. by W., distant about 6 miles; at 7 the highest point bore North about 6 miles.

Long. Chro. 182 deg. 10 min.
Acct. 180 deg. 57 min.
Lat. noon 8 deg. 4 min. South.

Few persons, perhaps, have ever had a narrower escape than we on the night of the 17th inst.* I believe the fear of living, had the vessel struck, was the only fear; the prospect of ever getting from the Island was so faint that it hardly inspired a hope, while the reflection that perhaps a few years might drag along with one or two companions in misery, and then Death snatch from you this only consolation in wretchedness and leave you a solitary wanderer where the voice of man could never reach you was, even after our danger was over, almost maddening. It made a serious impression on all, and the careless Seaman, who had before sought some hiding place on deck to sleep away his Watch, was aroused by his recent danger to vigilance. To this and the kind interposition of Providence we were again indebted for our safety. I had taken in the studding-sail, put the vessel under commanding canvas and was gliding slowly on our course, when the men forward called out "a light ahead." It blazed up, and all hands instantly discovered a large fire. Brought to head to the Southward. Finding her drift in the direction of the light, I made sail, determined by short tacks to keep her during the night as near her present station as possible. We knew that a short distance to the Northward and Westward there must be land, but we did not know its extent or the direction in which it trended. The next moment might find us on some sand bar. I did not think it possible to augment the horror of our situation or add another pang to those I already endured, when an hour convinced me that no man can say "He's at the worst." It became dark, the distant thunder announced an approaching gust, which came on so rapidly we had scarce time to take in sail, when the lightning actually *streamed* down, the rain poured, the thunder rattled, and in this situation we remained two hours drifting about at the mercy of the elements; I got an anchor over the gunwale and bent the chain cable.

"At length the wished-for morrow
Broke through the hazy sky,"

and certainly not more than 6 miles under our lee appeared a low Island, which we conjectured to be about 10 miles long, and from which the fire that had warned us of our danger proceeded.

* When Captain DE PEYSTER came on deck that night his hair was black throughout; the next morning the forelock was perfectly white, and so continued, a distinct memento of this night of anxiety, until age turned the rest to gray.

LXXVIII.

DE PEYSTER ISLANDS.

The Southern point, which we doubled at five or six miles distance, was the highest, and covered with Cocoanut trees. From the masthead sixteen small Islands appeared to form a circle. In the centre and amongst them in every direction much broken water. I am induced to believe that the greater part of them are only one Island, the highest points appearing, but there were evidently two or three perfectly distinct ones. Plan No. 2, taken when the Southernmost point of the large Island bore due North, per compass, by actual bearings and probable distances will give a tolerably good idea of their appearance. At 9 o'clock, I had good sights for the Chronometers and one distance of the sun and moon which gave the following results:

Chro. 507 at 9 o'clock 181 deg. 49 min. West.
508 " " 181 deg. 56 min.
Lunar 182 deg.
3 | 545 : 45

Mean .....181 : 55
Deduct 12 West made . 12

From 7 to 9 .....181 : 43 West.
Longitude South Point.*
Lat. 9 o'clock.....8 deg. 09 min. South.
Distance from 7 to 9 o'clock A. M.. 2 North.

Lat. at 7 o'clock .....8 deg. 11 min. South.
South point of the Island distant six miles by compass, North..... 6

Lat. South Point .....8 deg. 05 min. South.

After passing two such nights of danger and anxiety, I determined on lying by every evening after dark until daybreak, particularly as the lands we had made were so low, and in many places banks of sand projecting from them some distance into the sea. It is remarkable that Commodore Byron sailed in this parallel of Latitude, till within a very short distance of the Longitude of the first Islands, and Captain Wallis [e ?] passed as short a distance to the Westward of this Group. I am strongly inclined to believe they stretch to the Northward and Westward as far King's Mills Group, and that many more remain in that direction to be discovered. This Group is evidently inhabited, the land rather higher than ELLICE'S GROUP, but like them covered with cocoanut trees. Off the Southern point appears a reef on which the sea breaks very high. To this Group, judging ourselves to be the discoverers, my officers did me the honor to give the name of DE PEYSTER

* Here Captain DE PEYSTER subsequently made a note in pencil "between the tracks of Byron and Wallise."

ISLANDS,* which lie the South Point in Latitude 8 deg. 5 min. South, Longitude 181 deg. 43 Min. West. [See Lippincott's Gazetteer, &c.]

See Plan No. 2.

WEDNESDAY, 19th May, 1819.

Light breezes and fine weather. At six shortened sail and hove to, head to the Northward. Our two narrow escapes have made me nervous. Indeed, the Islands we have discovered are so low 'tis next to an impossibility to see them until so close it then becomes a chance whether you can clear them. At 5.30 o'clock P. M. made sail. Saw several boobies and two birds resembling curlews.

Longitude, Chronometer .....183 deg. 25 min.
Acct.....182 deg. 02 min.

Latitude, 7 deg. 42 min. South.

THURSDAY, 20th May, 1819.

Moderate and cloudy. 6 A. M. hove to, head to the Northward. 4 P. M. squally with much lightning. 6 P. M. made sail.

Longitude, Chronometer ....184 deg. 35 min.
Acct.....183 deg. 01 min.

Latitude, 7 deg. 30 min. South.

FRIDAY, 21st May, 1819.

Light breezes and fine weather. 8 A. M. shortened sail and hove to, head to the Northward. 4 P. M. bore up and made sail.

Longitude, Chronometer .....185 deg. 56 min.
Acct.....184 deg. 01 min.

Latitude, 7 deg. 21 min.

* * * * *

ISLAND JESUS DE MENDANA.

SUNDAY, 23d May, 1819.

Warm. Performed Divine Service. This day I passed the Latitude and Longitude of the island JESUS DE MENDANA, as laid down on ARROWSMITH'S Chart—if the island does exist. Its position I judge is erroneous; we had no indication of land.

Longitude 188 deg. 05 min. E. Latitude 6 deg. 58 min. South.

* "Captain Bennett, of Ship Independence, of Nantucket, near Latitude 9, 18, S., Longitude 179, 45, E., fell in with a group of Islands, with peaceable inhabitants. Supposing them a new discovery, he called them after the owner of the ship, 'Mitchell's Group,' and not far from them discovered another Island, which he called Rocky Island."—*New Bedford Mercury, Nov.* 8, 1822.

LXXX.

"We see by the newspapers that the British government is about to establish a naval depot at the ELLICE GROUP, in the *South Pacific Ocean.* It might be interesting to our readers to know that these, as well as the DE PEYSTER or PEYSTER Islands, were discovered by Arent Schuyler de Peyster, of New York, captain or master of the armed brigantine or privateer Rebecca, sailing under British colors, 17th May, 1819. This officer was a son of PIERRE GUILLAUME DE PEYSTER [and grandson of Col. de Heer ABRAHAM DE PEYSTER, First, acting Governor of New York, in 1700, &c., &c.], who was also noted as a daring seaman, and is mentioned in connection with feats of enterprise; likewise his [another] son of the same name [Pierre Guillaume] who was decorated by the first Napoleon for an extraordinary feat—beating off an attack of British boats from a man-of-war at the mouth of the Garonne. His [A. S. de P.'s] log-books were presented to his kinsman, General de Peyster, our old correspondent, 'Anchor,' and portions of these were published years ago, describing these discoveries. The ELLICE Islands, records Captain de Peyster, were so named in honor of his friend and benefactor, E. ELLICE, Member of Parliament for Coventry, 'as a small evidence of my grateful recollection of his kindness.'

"Captain de Peyster was the nephew and namesake of the famous Colonel de Peyster, of the Eighth Regiment, or King's Foot, who purchased for the youngster an ensign's commission in his regiment. The youngster, however, ran away and went to sea, rapidly rose until he commanded his own vessel and for many years led a life of adventure, of which the relation is more romantic than the incidents of any novel. For seventeen years nothing was heard of him except through remittances, which, when he did turn up, he found had been embezzled by a connection through marriage, to whom he had intrusted their investment. This gentleman died in New York at a very advanced age, leaving no male representative, while those in the female line are all [settled] in England."—*N. Y. Mail and Express*, Wednesday, 8th September, 1886.

EDITOR'S NOTES TO POEMS.*

Page 32, Note to "SONNET EXTEMPORE," *Murder of Mr.* JOHN RICHARDS, *a Loyalist.*—"In the summer of 1778, Mr. John Richards, a native of *Barbadoes*, but long a resident in *New Jersey*, where he inherited a genteel estate, situated upon the banks of the *Passaic*, was foully murdered. He was a steady, noted Loyalist, spoke his mind freely in favour of Great Britain, but never was in arms, or served in any civil capacity. This gentleman, after the conquest of New Jersey, in 1776, and that province became the seat of war, removed to New York, but left his family at home. Hearing that the small-pox had appeared in his family, he determined to pay them a visit. Upon his way he stopped at a public house. Here were a number of rebels, to one of whom he was well known. This fellow abused him, called him a tory, a villain, a British scoundrel, and demanded his watch. This Richards refused to deliver, upon which the rebel drew a pistol from his pocket, and with great composure shot Richards through the head. He instantly died. The rebels then took his watch, his money, what things he had with him, stripped the body of its clothes, and deliberately marched off. This horrid, cruel, malicious murder was approved of by Governor [Wm.] Livingston. He recommended the murderer to Congress. Congress rewarded him with a captain's commission.†

"Not long after the murder of Richards, an officer in Skinner's Corps, and formerly an intimate of the murdered man, got information where the murderer was, with a few men only. With Skinner's leave he passed to Jersey, sur-

* It was the Editor's intention to furnish copious notes illustrating these Poems, but ill-health, distance and difficulty of access to different libraries containing authorities precluded their preparation in time, or within so long a period that the appearance of the book would have been too long delayed.

† "This was a more cruel and malicious murder than that of Miss McCrea, which happened the preceding year, near Saratoga. The former was committed by Christians, the latter by savages in the heat of passion, violently disputing whose prisoner the lady was. Yet the latter murder was, with every exaggeration that could be thought of, published by order of Congress and dispersed through all Christendom, while the former was publicly rewarded by the same body of men, and the murderer thanked for the horrid act."—(See Thomas Jones' "History of New York during the Revolutionary War." Edited by Edward F. De Lancey, Vol. I. [New York, 1879], pages 280, 281 and 282.)

prised the rebel party, and in about twelve hours they were all safely lodged in the provost at New York. General Clinton had never complained of this barbarous and inhuman murder, either to Governor Livingston, Washington, or the Congress. He now had the villain in his power. Everybody supposed retaliation would take place. Nothing of the kind. In five days after his imprisonment he had the liberty of the city upon his parole; in about ten he was exchanged as a prisoner of war. Thus the rebels murdered with impunity, and the British generals were afraid to retaliate. This was the case the whole war. The British generals were bullied by the rebels, who acted with spirit and resolution. Whenever they threatened, their threats were carried into execution. The British were eternally threatening by their proclamations, yet never carried a single threat into execution; though every account daily brought in from the rebel country was giving a list of murders, imprisonments, and robberies committed upon His Majesty's loyal subjects for refusing to assist, or take up arms, in favor of rebellion."

Page 32, Note to MURDER OF CAPTAIN ERASMUS PHILIPPS, B. A.—"When the news of the unlucky affair at Trenton arrived at New York, ERASMUS PHILLIPS, Esq., Captain of Grenadiers in the 45th Regiment, was there. He immediately set off to join his regiment in *Jersey*. He was attended by a servant only. As he passed through *Princeton*, he was observed by three persons who were concealed in a house in that place. The house stood upon the road. The captain was to pass the door. When he came directly opposite, the three assassins fired and lodged three bullets in his body. He instantly fell from his horse dead. The servant escaped. One of the party who committed the murder, his name shall be mentioned, was a —— ——— one of the sons of ——— —— ———, late one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the province of New York. This barbarian, in a public company at Middletown, in Connecticut, boasted of this horrid murder as an act of heroism, a noble achievement; and so little remorse had he for this cruel act, in which he had taken a principal part, that he declared, "That Captain Phillips "made one of the handsomest corpses he had ever beheld. We stripped "him," says he, "of all his clothes and left him naked in the street. I "thought," added he, "that I should have been obliged to have cut his head "off to get at his diamond stock buckle, but I effected my purpose by breaking his neck and turning his head topsy turvy." This he concluded with a broad laugh, taking off his own stock, and saying, "Behold the buckle, it was "worth the pains of breaking a dead man's neck for." I make no observation upon this anecdote, but leave the unprejudiced part of the world to judge for themselves. The Americans ever boasted that they were never guilty of inhumanity during the war. What I have related in this matter, I aver as facts, can be proved by numbers; let the public judge whether a more barbarous, cruel, unchristianlike act was ever committed among civilized nations. But it was done by rebels. It was an act of rebellion, and done by people who bragged of their humanity. The captain was in the power of these rebel

partisans. They might have made him a prisoner, had they so pleased. But murder was their aim, his blood their desire. The Indian that conceals himself in the wood, kills an unarmed man unsuspicious of his danger, takes off his scalp, robs him of his clothes, and makes his escape, acts a part far less unworthy of his character than the part acted by these three Christian murderers."—(See Thomas Jones' "History of New York during the Revolutionary War." Edited by Edward F. De Lancey [New York, 1879], Vol. V., pages 171 and 172.)

Page 42, line 3.—"The *King's (the 8th) Regiment of Foot*" was a very distinguished one. Its origin dates back to the Monmouth Rebellion in 1685. It was first styled *Poincess Anne of Denmaok's Regiment of Foot.* Being a Protestant regiment, it incurred the enmity of James II. by refusing to receive Irish Roman Catholic recruits. The protesting officers were condemned to death, but the arrival of the Prince of Orange, afterwards William III., saved them from punishment and won them reward. Under William III. and Marlborough, the 8th served wherever hard fighting was to be done. In 1715 they were hurried to the front against the Pretender, and, after the suppression of the Rebellion, George I. rewarded their good conduct on all occasions with the distinguished title of *the King's Regiment of Foot.* Hitherto their uniform had been red faced with yellow; henceforward the facings were blue, and the regiment was authorized to bear the *White Horse* of Ancient Saxony, then of Brunswick, and afterwards *of Hanover*, within the Garter, as a Regimental Badge; after which the 8th was popularly known as the *Hanoverian White Horse Regiment.* Here a curious suggestion presents itself. While the banner of the Saxon king, who first invaded England to conquer and remain, bore the effigy of a White Horse, that of Wittikand, the celebrated Saxon ruler conquered by Charlemagne and forcibly compelled to become a nominal Christian, was a *black* horse, of which the color was changed to *white* as a fitter emblem of the purer faith which he embraced to save his head.

To even briefly recite the manifold services of the EIGHTH would fill a volume, instead of being susceptible of compression into a note. Therefore its history will only be considered so far as its service in America, 1768–1785. It embarked for Canada in May, 1768.

"After passing several years at Quebec, Montreal, St. Johns, Chambly, &c., the [Eighth, or King's] regiment [of Foot] was removed up the country to the large lakes. One division landed at the extremity of Lake Ontario, and occupied the forts and town of Niagara, near the celebrated waterfalls of that name. [Col., then [Captain] Lieut. A. S. de P., *built, in 1767*, a *saw-mill*, the first framed building, *at Niagara Falls.* 'Judge Porter was one of the earliest settlers at the Falls, having erected his first dwelling there in 1809–10.' 'In addition to the dwelling, *he erected mills, probably on the site* where Lieutenant de Peyster built a saw-mill in 1767.'"—Page 20, Orsamus H. Marshall's "Niagara Frontier," &c., 1865.] Another portion of

the regiment proceeded to Detroit * * * and the remainder of the regiment occupied several small posts on the borders of the large lakes, &c.

["The country along both sides of this river [St. Clair] is one of the most interesting and beautiful that I have ever met with in any part of the United States. Immediately on its banks the land is fertile, and in a high state of cultivation. The inhabitants on the English shore are principally Canadians or French. *Detroit is a perfect paradise*, but many of its beauties have been defaced and tarnished by the ruthless hand of the savage."—Pages 410, 411, "Campaign of the War of 1812–15, &c. Bvt. Maj.-Gen. George W. Cullum, &c. New York, 1879.]

"While stationed in these remote posts, the Eighth witnessed the grounds in the vicinity of their quarters changed, by the woodman's axe and the farmer's plough, from almost impenetrable forests to scenes of rural industry and comfort; the bears and wolves receding to the more remote regions; while rude cottages, rising up on every side as if by enchantment, marked the extent of the infant settlement. In the meantime, a misunderstanding between the British government and the colonists of the other settlements in North America, on the subject of taxation, was followed by hostilities in 1775, and a number of states united in a confederacy, and, eventually, declared themselves independent of the mother country.

"Hostilities commenced at Boston, and the Battle of Bunker's Hill proved the stern valor of British soldiers. Canada being left almost without troops, the confederated states sent a body of men to invade that province. The Seventh and Twenty-sixth regiments occupied several posts which were not prepared to withstand a siege, and a great part of the two regiments was made prisoners at St. John's and Chambly. Lieut.-General Carleton vacated Montreal and retired with the remainder of the two regiments to Quebec, where he was besieged by the Americans during the winter. While this was taking place in the lower province, the EIGHTH were unmolested at the forts up the country, where their services were limited to the affording of protection to the settlers.

"After the severe frosts of a Canadian winter were abated, part of the regiment descended from the upper lakes to take part in the expulsion of the insurgent Americans from Canada: and soon afterwards some British ships, forcing their way through the ice, arrived with reinforcements at Quebec, and the Americans raised the siege: this took place in the early part of May, 1776.

"About this period, Captain GEORGE FORSTER, of the EIGHTH, who had descended from the upper lakes with a detachment of the regiment, undertook a most gallant enterprise against about four hundred Americans, who were stationed at a fort, on the river St. Lawrence, above Montreal, called *Cedars*, situate within a mile of the Cascade, at a place naturally strong—the land stretching so far into the river as to render the east and west points inaccessible. Captain FORSTER commanded at the post of *Oswegatchie*, and,

five days after the siege of *Quebec* was raised, he left this post with two lieutenants and thirty-eight men of the EIGHTH, ten Canadian volunteers, and a hundred and twenty Indians. Arriving at the village of *St. Regis*, he convened a council of warrior chiefs, who refused to accompany the expedition, but permitted their young men to go: a number of Canadians also agreed to engage in the enterprise. Thus reinforced, the captain embarked with his party on the 17th of May; and, sailing down the St. Lawrence, landed at ten o'clock at night at the *Point du Diable*, six miles above the *Cedars*. On the 18th he proceeded under the cover of a thick wood to within a mile of the fort; from whence he sent forward a few private soldiers of the EIGHTH, the Canadian volunteers, and a hundred Indians, who were directed to move secretly through the trees, and take post as near the fort as possible. At the same time a hundred Indians were despatched towards the falls at the entrance of the Cascade, to cut off the communication of the garrison with the Island of Montreal. This body fell in with a detachment of the garrison, returning with provisions from the *Cascade;* and the American soldiers escaped to the fort with the loss of one man. The garrison was summoned, and the commandant, Major BUTTERFIELD, requested four hours' consideration; but Captain FORSTER observed that, should hostilities commence, and any Indians be killed, he could not answer for the consequences. The Major agreed to surrender on condition of being allowed to retire to Montreal. This was refused; a redoubt was constructed, and the fort was attacked on the morning of the 19th of May; at midday the garrison surrendered, and the commandant and three hundred and ninety officers and soldiers became prisoners of war. On the 20th of May information was received of the advance of a party of American soldiers from Montreal towards the fort; and Captain Forster sent forward a party to take possession of the woods on both sides of the roads along which the Americans were obliged to pass. As they advanced through the wood, the American soldiers were suddenly enveloped in a sharp fire of musketry; they fought until one Indian was killed and three wounded, and afterwards surrendered. The warriors were so enraged at the loss of their companions that when they arrived at the vicinity of the fort, they halted for the purpose of putting their prisoners to death; but Captain FORSTER, by his most spirited and decisive conduct, prevented the savage butchery taking place, although he hazarded the loss of himself and all his party by his determined proceeding on this occasion. The prisoners were lodged in the fort, where a small garrison was left; and Captain FORSTER advanced with the remainder of his party to *Vaudreuil*, six miles from the Cedars. Having ascertained that a body of Americans, under Colonel ARNOLD, had taken post at *La Chine*, he advanced to dislodge them; but on learning that his opponents were six hundred strong, and would be treble that number on the following day, he returned to *Vaudreuil*, his small party consisting only of thirty men of the EIGHTH, besides Canadians and Indians. On the 27th of May, Col. ARNOLD proceeded up the river with seven hundred men in boats; and Capt. FORSTER

formed his party into three divisions, and posted them on three different points of land that stretched a little way into the river. The enemy's flotilla approached the left point, but was repulsed by the fire of the Indians; the Americans next attempted to effect a landing at the central point; but were driven back by the fire of the thirty men of the EIGHTH, who opposed the landing of seven hundred opponents with the most distinguished gallantry. On proceeding to the third point, the American soldiers were repulsed by the Canadian volunteers, and they returned to St. Ann's, on the island of Montreal, dispirited and exhausted. Captain FORSTER being much incommoded with his American prisoners, who were more numerous than his own party, delivered them up on condition that they should not serve against the British government until exchanged; but the American Congress violated the cartel, on the pretence that the prisoners had been ill-treated; this was, however, fully proved to be a false and frivolous excuse to evade the conditions of the agreement.* [Somewhat, subsequently, as was the case with Burgoyne's Convention troops, so styled.]

"While Captain FORSTER and the gallant officers and men of the EIGHTH with him, were thus signalizing themselves in so extraordinary a manner, General Sir GUY CARLETON, K. B., was advancing up the St. Lawrence towards *Montreal*. The Americans were repulsed at *Trois Rivieres*, and they vacated Montreal. A naval force was established on Lake Champlain; the American vessels were attacked and overpowered, and Canada was freed from the presence of the enemy. The EIGHTH Foot were subsequently re-established at their former posts at *Niagara*, *Detroit*, &c., where they passed the winter. In 1777, when Lieutenant-General BOURGOYNE commenced his unfortunate expedition from Canada, by the lower lakes, with the view of penetrating to Albany, the protection of a portion of the Canadian frontiers was confided to the EIGHTH; the regiment also furnished a detachment of one hundred men, to engage in an expedition up the Mohawk River, under the command of Colonel BARRY ST. LEGER, of the Thirty-fourth Foot, as a diversion in favor of the main army. Part of the force employed on this service consisted of Indians. Having crossed Lake Ontario to Oswego, the detachment proceeded by Wood Creek to the Mohawk River; and, in the beginning of August, besieged *Fort Stanwix*, a square log fort with four bastions and a stockaded covered way, situate on a rising ground at the upper end of the Mohawk River. A body of American militia advanced to relieve the garrison, and Colonel St. Leger [Sir John Johnson] placed a detachment in ambush. As the Americans marched incautiously through a woody part of the country, they were suddenly assailed by a heavy fire of musketry from behind trees and bushes; and the savages, rushing from their concealment, made a dreadful slaughter with

* See a letter on this subject in STEADMAN'S *History of the American War*, Vol. I., page 175, in which the conduct of Captain George Forster, of the EIGHTH FOOT, is fully justified by one of the American officers.

their spears and tomahawks. More than half the American party was cut off, and the remainder escaped. While this was taking place, the [next in rank to the] commandant of the Fort made a sally with [part of] his garrison, and plundered the Indian camp. In prosecuting the siege, the artillery proved too light to make any impression on the works, and the Indians having lost thirty of their principal warriors, their friendship began to abate. They had engaged in the enterprise in the hope of plunder, and their expectations not being likely to be realized, many of them withdrew; and, when information arrived of the advance of a body of Americans, under Major-General ARNOLD, their discontent had arisen to such a height that some doubt was entertained whether they would not turn their arms against the British troops. Under these circumstances the siege was raised, and the detachment retired to Montreal, from whence it proceeded, by the lower lakes, to Ticonderoga, for the purpose of joining the troops under Lieut.-General Burgoyne. This did not, however, take place; General Burgoyne, after encountering numerous difficulties, was surrounded by an American force of so very superior numbers that he capitulated.

"The EIGHTH remained in Canada during the succeeding seven years. Their long residence in the country, united with their knowledge of the roads, and of the localities of the frontiers, rendered their services particularly valuable to the government.

"In 1782 the American War was terminated by Great Britain acknowledging the independence of the United States.

"On the arrival of the *Sixty-fifth* regiment in Canada, in the summer of 1785, the EIGHTH returned to England, where they arrived in September."—Pages 66–72, "Historical Records of the British Army, comprising the History of Every Regiment in Her Majesty's Service." "The Eighth, or King's, Foot," &c., &c. London, 1844.

Note to "VERSES," pages 66, 67. According to Wm. K. Kelly's History of Russia, Vol. II., page 202, Bonaparte on one occasion "forgot himself so far as to insult Markof himself personally; and, towards the conclusion of his invective, actually to defy the Russian government. After this scene, the Ambassador [Markof] entirely broke off all intercourse with the Court of the Tuileries."

The following extract will give an idea of the First Consul's treatment of Count Markoff:

"The Russian ambassador, Count Markoff, is a man of elegant manners and great knowledge of the world; and it appears he was extremely disgusted with Bonaparte's insolence to Lord Whitworth, when he publicly affronted him in the midst of the diplomatic circle, and he was the only one of the whole number who dared to shew his displeasure at the Consul's rudeness: he smiled at him with infinite contempt, and immediately went up to his lordship, and said some civil things to him on the disagreeable situation in which Bonaparte's indecent warmth had placed

him. From that time he seemed to have excited the tyrant's utmost hatred. He was never after invited to any of the diplomatic dinners, and was seldom spoken to at the levees. In addition to this, he is reported to have given his opinion pretty strongly when the mediation of Russia, between England and France, was agitated, that there could be no solid peace unless the Sardinian monarch was reinstated in his dominions and the independence of Holland, Switzerland and Italy respected by France. Being soon after completely disgusted with the conduct of Talleyrand, with Bonaparte, and the whole train of his sycophants, he determined to solicit his recall, and, till he received his answer, went to drink the waters of Bareges, where he was constantly beset with the spies of the First Consul. On his return from thence, at his first conference with Talleyrand, that profligate and crafty agent of despotism, more than insinuated that the offer of mediation tendered by the court of Russia was purchased by England; to which he replied with great warmth and dignity, that he should immediately dispatch a messenger to his sovereign to inform him how he had been insulted. A few days after he was sent for by Bonaparte, who attacked him with all the violence of an angry female, and, in language resembling the fishmarket of Billingsgate or Paris, abused both the emperor and his ambassador, and finished his harangue by threatening to send the latter to the Temple. From that time M. Markoff never again appeared either at the Tuileries or St. Cloud, till the time of his departure, when he complied with the ceremony of taking leave of the court."—W. BURDON'S "Life and Character of BONAPARTE, xx. to 15th August, 1804," reviewed in *Monthly Emporium and Literary Magazine, for March, 1805.*

Michelet, in his "Jusqu'à Waterloo," page 137, says, at the time the British Ambassador quitted Paris after the murder of the Duke d'Enghien, "It was with difficulty the Ambassador of Russia after being *maltraité* [*maltraiter* signifies to maltreat, to abuse, *to strike one*] by Napoleon Bonaparte, continued at Paris."

From Lanfrey (III., 54), it would appear that the Pope intimated that Bonaparte just missed striking him (Capfigue, XI., 209). "No, he (Napoleon) did not proceed to such an iniquity, and God permits us in this case to escape telling an untruth on the subject." Which seems to imply, if the Emperor had struck the Pope, the latter would have denied the fact to save his dignity.

It is believed he struck Talleyrand, and Taine and others charge him with holding out that, for a man of his power and calibre, there was no rule, moral or legal, to restrain his will or passions in any way.

It is said he was near striking Lord Whitworth in 1803. It was lucky he did not. "What would you have done if the First Consul had given you a blow?" The English Embassador replied, "I would have drawn my sword and run him through the body," as he would have been justified in so doing.—(L. L. A., 1356, 28, 5, 70, 534.)

LXXXIX.

Page 69, Note to "Impromptu" and "Verses on the Death of Sir John Moore."—Pitt, Nelson, Cornwallis, Moore! What a galaxy of great men grouped together! The *younger* Pitt, like his father the great Earl of Chatham, needs no more than mention, for his career belongs to the loftiest strains of the Muse of History. Frederic, the Nonesuch, himself acknowledged to be indeed THE great, summed up the magnitude of Pitt by his eulogy spoken sadly, recalling the services of the noble Englishman, in whose breast, as in that of the Saxon Harold, beat the heart of England.

Of Nelson, the second mentioned in like manner, that famous seaman, the world acknowledges his deserved fame.

Not so much is known of the truth in regard to the third, Cornwallis, the one worthy Commander for the Crown in America, the Pacificator of Ireland, the Establisher of India.

Of the fourth, Sir John Moore, very few, indeed, are aware of his surprising ability. He only lacked the smiles of fortune, and deserving so much, and yet winning so little except fame, is better known to the multitude by a few ringing verses of an obscure clergyman, but a highly endowed poet, inspired by the burial of the hero on the field where they left him a victor, like the Douglas and Gustaf Adolf, in death,

"Alone in his glory."

Wellington, his successor, the inheritor of his aspirations and his hopes—enjoyed that which he failed to acquire, "*fortuna favente.*"

Moore will be dwelt upon more at length further on. "At Cintra, he [Wellington] said: 'Moore, you and I are the only men, and if you are ready to command, I am ready to serve under you.'" (L. L. A. 2188, 3, 5, 88.)

There is no doubt but that, with the exception of the Americans—as demonstrated on both sides during the great American Conflict, 1861–1865—there are no braver soldiers than the English. Marshal Bugeaud, who had fought them in Spain, declared that it was "lucky for the world that there were so few of them." Nevertheless, while as fighting factors they are so eminent, Great Britain has always been as remarkably deficient in able generals. Her great commanders throughout her whole history scarcely amount to a dozen, and within two hundred years only two belong to the first class. During the American Revolution they proved so inefficient that the Colonies obtained their independence NOT through any thing that their leaders and they, themselves, did, but from what the Royal Commanders did NOT do. ☞ The only exception was Cornwallis. If he had been at the head, it is very likely he would have succeeded; but in a subordinate position his ability and his energy were always traversed and paralyzed. Colonel Chesney of the British Engineers, an officer of considerable judgment in matters where he is not influenced by characteristics too often peculiar to his nation, is very just in speaking of Cornwallis.

"The resistance of the Americans against the English and their success has

not changed my opinion as to the disadvantages of improvised armies against experienced forces. Still I [DE GUIBERT] believe that the immense difference to which I have alluded did not the less exist between the English army and that of Washington, and even between that of Burgoyne, which laid down its arms, and that of Gates, which compelled it to do so. I think, if the foreign officers who witnessed this war could be brought to express an opinion, and if any one among them has won reputation, they will unanimously agree that the misfortunes of the English are solely due to their own faults, and that their generals* were destitute of plans, took false measures, unwisely divided their forces, and that they especially committed the great mistake of not sufficiently appreciating the superiority of their means, and forgot that regular troops when brought in contact with militia lose on that account even their principal advantage, which consists in the opinion which they should have of their superiority, and which, by so losing it, they transfer to those latter [the Militia] not only moral confidence but actual strength.

"Finally, I believe that if they will agree to avow the truth, they often groaned over this prodigious difference, and that, even supposing that the love of liberty was unanimous among the Americans, this sentiment, which sometimes converts individuals into heroes, is, as regards the multitude, a means less sure than discipline.

"But, when the war of the English and America did not have the conclusion which I believe should have resulted from every war carried on by well-led regular troops against a nation-in-arms, this example presents no trustworthy proof against my opinion that the American War bore no resemblance to any such war as is made in Europe. The English were 2000 short leagues from their base. Transports sometimes took months to effect a passage, the supplies, the difficulty of transporting everything, the slowness and uncertainty of convoys, the nature of the country which through its large rivers, its lakes, its forests, present far greater obstacles than Europe; the difficulty of ad-

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*Henry Lloyd, a Welshman, altho' he did not obtain a higher rank than that of Major-General in the Russian service, had nevertheless exercised independently and successfully commands in chief with a force of 20,000 men. He had likewise been charged with diplomatic missions involving secrecy, at the time of the battle of Fontenoy, to the Republic of Venice, to Portugal, to Spain and to France. He has been compared to Sydney, a very high estimate, to Thomas Gordon, and to him was applied, as to Bayle, even the title of "the advocate-general of humanity." One writer, worthy of citation, went so far as to claim for him that he united the conciliating spirit of a philosopher to the higher views of a true statesman and the genius of the greatest military commander, and according to the preface to his works, cited in the *Bibliotheque Historique et Militaire* (V. 308), the opinion was held that if LLOYD had been opposed to Washington by the administration of Great Britain, George III. would have preserved the American Thirteen Colonies. The same has been remarked of Lord Clive, a greater military genius, approved by the greatest success in war and administration, to whom was actually destined the command in America, when he prevented the experiment by destroying himself. Thus it is "inevitable law" works out its intent by natural causes, getting rid in time of the only instruments by which otherwise, under that law, a different result must have ensued.

vancing far inland when every kind of subsistence had to be carried from the coast and furnished by its fleets. All these together were able to counterbalance the superiority which discipline and equality of their troops otherwise gave to the English over the Americans."—DE GUIBERT (French General, able organizer, and abler military writer), B. M. & H., V. 419.

Cornwallis, unfortunately for him, is scarcely known to Americans except through his misfortune at Yorktown, and, yet, in that case, the result was due entirely to his superior, Clinton, who, physically a very brave man, in every other respect was very weak. While Yorktown is never forgotten, his brilliant successes are never remembered. In one short battle he disposed of the vainglorious Gates, famous for a success over Burgoyne, which was due in preparation entirely to Schuyler and in execution altogether to Arnold, while Burgoyne threw away his trumps and so played into the hands of Gates that the game was lost before Gates put in his appearance. Greene, who was considered the best Continental general in the field, only encountered Cornwallis to be beaten. Had it not been for Wayne, who, as far as he had the opportunities to display his abilities, demonstrated to the satisfaction of a true military critic, that he was head and shoulders above every other Continental leader, Cornwallis would have wiped out Lafayette in Virginia. Napoleon, with all his hatred of Englishmen, was unqualified in his admiration of Cornwallis, especially of the latter's integrity. In spite of the falsifications of American writers, Cornwallis was magnanimity itself, and their abuse of him was simply one of the multitudinous manifestations of their incapacity to be just in regard not only toward the Loyalists, their victims, but to every one who was faithful to his duty to the mother country.*

And now, having given a consideration to Cornwallis which was his due, let the reader direct his attention again to Moore. It is a very curious fact, nevertheless it is an undeniable fact, that Napoleon appeared to be positively afraid to measure himself with the English in Spain, at first with Moore, and afterwards with Wellington. The blind admirers of that unmitigated wretch—with all the ability that must be conceded to him, a consummate villain—scoff at this idea and aver that his unwillingness to encounter Moore is an afterthought and invention of Lanfrey.† Ignorance

* Sir Walter Scott, in his best novel, "The Antiquary," Vol. II., chap. xlv., furnishes the best idea of what Loyalty means, as it was understood by an honest common-sense people:

"The magistrates were beset by the quartermasters of the different [Volunteer] corps for billets for men and horses. 'Let us,' said Bailie Littlejohn, 'take the horses into our warehouses, and the men into our parlors—share our supper with the one, and our forage with the other. *We have made ourselves wealthy under a free and parental government, and now is the time to show we know its value.*'"

† HISTORY is not now-a-days consulted as a faithful oracle: it is rather treated like the old lamp, as too rusty, too old and homely, to bear light amidst the blaze of modern illumination, but more valuable as an instrument of incantation, which, by occasional friction upon its surface, may conjure up mighty spirits to do the bidding of a master. Such an instru-

and bigotry are far more dangerous enemies to truth than absolute falsehood. So far from being a recent opinion and due to Lanfrey's hostility to the French idol, in whom there was a little silver and gold but an infinite amount of brass, a British historian and soldier, Major-General John Mitchell, in his great work, "The Fall of Napoleon," established this opinion and published it twenty-five years before the volume of Lanfrey appeared. To the law of fact and to the testimony of those authors the reader's attention is now invited.

"At the head of his war-trained bands, Napoleon overthrew the unorganized Spanish multitudes at every point; and, advancing by rapid strides to Madrid, obliged the capital to surrender after a mere show of resistance. The victorious host, 80,000 strong, were then directed against the British; who, to the number of 25,000 men, were moving to the aid of their unhappy allies. Sir John Moore, the English commander, seeing himself left alone in the arena, opposed to such an overwhelming superiority, retired towards Corunna, closely followed by the French. Napoleon himself did not, however, continue to lead the pursuit. Having, it is said, received tidings of the Austrian armaments, he halted at Astorga, and then returned with his guards to Valladolid: and it is a singular and unexplained circumstance that so decided an enemy of England should have willingly resigned the prospects of closing upon one of her armies, with the vast superiority of force which he then commanded. ☞ That time was not exactly wanting, is proved by his ten days' stay at Valladolid.

"Whether his abrupt departure from the army at such a moment was occasioned by any of those vague and shadowy forebodings, which often flit across the mind even of the brave, influence the timid, and for moments dispel the delusions that dazzle and inflate the vain—giving them passing but profitless gleams of their feebleness when contrasted with their pretensions, whether it arose from accident, or from a conviction that in the British he would meet with adversaries more formidable than any he had yet encountered, and from whom after all his vauntings defeat would be doubly humiliating, are questions it is now impossible to decide, though the circumstance is certainly a curious one. He knew that the defeat of a British army—however small and by whatever odds effected—that the humblest trophies torn from them in fair fight, would be more gratifying to the people of France and Paris than ten victories achieved over hundreds of thousands of other troops. He was already aware that the seizure of the Spanish crown, which threatened to be attended with many difficulties, began to be disapproved of in France. The legislative body too, had also, as we shall see, given signs of some refractory disposition which had greatly displeased him, and he well knew, that if he returned to Paris as the conqueror of the British, everything would be forgiven, and that he would be more than ever the idol of the nation. All this was evident, and yet he dared not strike a blow for the mighty advantage held out."—Pages 127–129, "Fall of Napoleon," by Lieut.-Col. J. Mitchell. Vol. I., second edition. London, 1847.

"At this precise moment the Spanish armies had been scattered to the winds, and 100,000 men, under the personal direction of Napoleon, were rapidly advancing to surround and overwhelm the British. 'Moore,' exclaimed the French Emperor, 'is now the only general worthy to contend with me. I shall advance against him in person!' The English commander was then preparing to attack Soult on the Carrion."—*Extract* from page 46 of Vol. I. of "Memoirs of British Generals distinguished during the Peninsular War," by John William Cole. London, 1856.

"Napoleon hoped to cut its [the army under Sir John Moore] communications, and to deal one of his crushing blows at the enemy with whom he was always at war, yet whom he

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ment in the hands of a good and faithful magician will not be employed upon baseless fabrications, that new power may dissolve, but in building upon the foundations of TRUTH, that shall still hold all together, in defiance of the agency of even the same enchantment to destroy the structures it has raised."—SOUTHGATE's "*Many Thoughts on Many Things*."

never, except at Waterloo, met in the field. Napoleon advanced as far as Astorga; but he had missed his mark, and *professed to have received information which showed him that he was urgently wanted at Paris.*"—Encylopædia Brittanica. Ninth edition. See page 154, Prof. SEELEY'S "Short History of Napoleon the First." Boston, 1886.

Napoleon could not tell the truth. Thus he subsequently imputed the loss of Waterloo to Grouchy, but in his "Correspondence," 20th June, 1815, there is no such charge. "It is clear that Napoleon's impression two days after Waterloo was that Grouchy *could* NOT have reached the field in time to have taken any part in the action of the 18th June."—"Concluding Volume of Napoleon's Correspondence." *Pall Mall Gazette; Littell's Living Age*, No. 1311, 17th July, 1869.

In the same way he misrepresented his failure to follow up Moore, and attributed his shirking the trial-at-arms to a different motive and cause. Napoleon more than once threw away his chances in a somewhat similar manner, and lost the game in consequence, as when he sacrificed Vandamme at Culm, at the latter end of August, 1813, and again lost the *only* opportunity of retrieving his affairs, 9th-11th September following.

Pages 70, 71.—Note to "A SONG," which, although not over-nice according to the ideas of to-day, was not objectionable at the time it was written. By it is shown the opinion, elsewhere than in France, of the base adulation of the French before their despotic master, who was not even a legal Frenchman, "made a Frenchman by force," much less one by blood or race or brain, who sacrificed a nation of dupes to the interests of himself, his family and his creatures.

The *Moniteur* published numberless paraphrases of a celebrated verse: "Jam nova progenies cœlo dimittitur alto." "Lightning flashes, the heavens open and present thy likeness beneath the features of thy son."

Owing to the LEGISLATIVE BODY not being convoked until two months later, it missed the opportunity of evincing its zeal in flattering its master. But, on the other hand, *it was admitted somewhat later to the special honour of presenting its respects to the child* itself. The president of this Legislative Body, which was the direct descendant of the Constituent Assembly and the Convention, went at the head of a select deputation to harangue the *infant when two months old.* He spoke to it of the attachment of the Assembly, and received and transmitted to his colleagues the answer made by the *gouvernante!* The following are the terms in which he reported his glorious mission: "We conveyed to him [the infant two months old], gentlemen, the expression of your most tender sentiments, mingled with such wishes as the love of our children inspires us with. Madame le gouvernante received them, and thanked us in the name of the young Prince, regretting no doubt that she was unable to add his personal sentiments to those which she expressed to the Legislative Body."

The speech thus delivered beside the cradle of the King of Rome,* was

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* "Napoleon's child, the King of Rome, only some eighteen months old, * * * poor little fellow, had already his court, his pages, his chamberlains, and there was no limit to the adulations lavished upon this infant. * * * In summer, wishing to show him to the people, as formerly the Dauphin so much beloved, they got up *that* little caleche drawn by two large Merino sheep, which promenaded on the terrace of the Tuilleries, at St. Cloud, and in the Park at Trianon. Contemporaneous engravings reproduce the spectacle of

well nigh the greatest achievement of the legislative session of 1811.—Extract from the History of Napoleon the First, by P. LANFREV, Vol. IV. (English translation), pages 143 and 144 (8vo, London, 1879).

Page 77.—Note to "IMPROMPTU" on the death of Sir Isaac Brock, who was a young officer who grew up under Colonel de Peyster, who "died as he had lived, without a personal enemy even among those who were the enemies of his country—both they and his companions in arms a few days afterwards, forgetting for a time the grievances of their respective countries, uniting in a common testimonial of respect to the memory of a departed chief." "Such was the esteem in which Sir Isaac was held by the enemies of his country, for he had or could have no private enemies, that Major-Gen. Van Rensellaer, in a letter of condolence, informed [Brock's successor] Major-Gen. Sheaffe that, immediately after the funeral solemnities were over, on the British side, a compliment of minute-guns would be paid to the hero's memory on theirs!!! Accordingly the cannon of Fort Niagara were fired, as a mark of respect due to a brave [British] enemy." Much more to the same effect could be added; it needs no more.

"*His mourners were two hosts, his friends and foes;*"

for Major-Gen. Sir Isaac Brock, B.A., was—

"One of those
The few in number, who had not o'erstept
The charter to chastise, which she bestows
On such as wield her weapons; he had kept
The whiteness of his soul, and thus men o'er him wept."

Brock was Ensign in the 8th (under Colonel de Peyster), 2d March, 1785; he became Lieutenant-Colonel 20th October, 1797, and Major-General 4th June, 1811.

Page 79.—The signature to the "Verses" on pages 77, 78, 79, "MAVISGROVEOUSKIKOFF," is a play on the name of the residence, near Dumfries, of Colonel de Peyster, "MAVIS GROVE."

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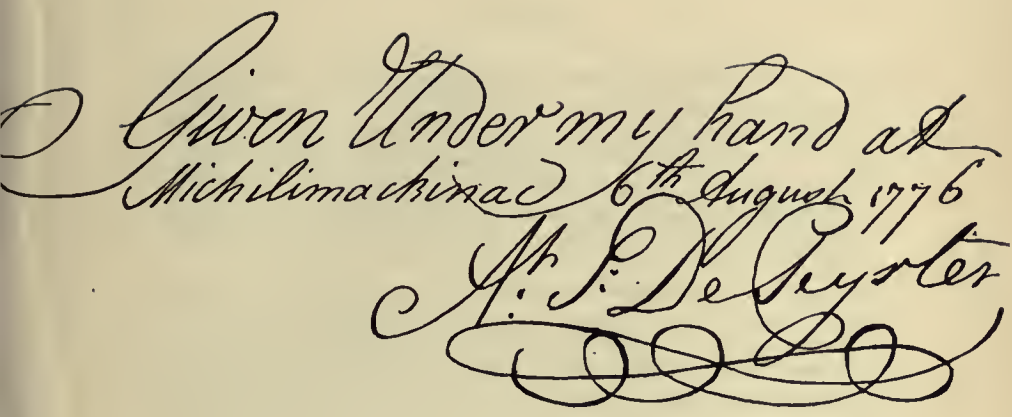
this royal airing. Marie Louise, in full dress as empress, in the ungraceful costume of the Empire; a long file of ladies of honor, then pages in the livery of the [baby] King of Rome, little soldiers, body-guards, chamberlains in lace shirt-frills and cuffs, sword at the side, cocked hats under the arm, and the little king dragged along in his baby-carriage, covered with decorations and crosses, for his dignity must be manifested in every fashion. In another engraving the prince is shown to the people by Madames Montesquiou and Mesgrigny in the pitiful dress of the period. His limbs, so pretty in the nudity of childhood, thrust into a uniform; with an enormous cocked hat upon his round and rosy head, pressed down upon his clusters of blond hair, which hat he must always keep on because, being a King, he could not appear bare-headed. The dignitaries of this period, even the regicides [who had sent their sovereign to the scaffold], were in particular the guardians of the honor and dignity of kings, and the formulary had not been forgotten. To the King of Rome were denied the appropriate swaddling clothes and laces, and he was covered instead with orders and badges."—Translated from CAPFIGUE'S "Europe under Napoleon." Brussels, 1842. XI., 60, 61.



EDITOR'S SUPPLEMENT.

NOTES TO COLONEL DE PEYSTER'S LETTERS,

PAGES XXI. TO LXXX.

Page xxi., Note to signature of *Colonel* ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER. —It is very curious that the Christian or given name, ARENT, of this officer, Colonel DE PEYSTER, originally Teutonic or Dutch, ARN-WALD, transmuted into ARNOLD in English, is equivalent in the dialect of the Mohawk Indians to a similar sounding word, signifies "*Eagle-power*," and his acknowledged influence and authority over the tribes committed to his charge show that it was eminently appropriate to him. The root from which it is derived is AAR, *Eagle* (Teutonic), the primitive, composite name ARNVALLD, which became in German AHARENT; Dutch AREND, sometimes ARENT; English, as mentioned, Arnold; French, Arnaud.

☞ Examine in this connection:

PIONEER COLLECTIONS. ‖ REPORT OF THE ‖ PIONEER SOCIETY ‖ OF THE ‖ STATE OF MICHIGAN; ‖ together with ‖ Reports of County, Town and District Pioneer Societies. ‖ Detroit: ‖ Wm. Graham's Presses, 52 Bates Street. 1880.

INDEX.—Vol. 2, page 593; Vol. 3, pages 16, 17, 21, 24, 25, 27, 31, 32, 312; Vol. 4, page 308; Vol. 5, page 453; Vol. 6, page 486; Vol. 8, pages 397, 466, 467; Vol. 9, pages 343, 656.

THE HISTORY ‖ OF ‖ DETROIT AND MICHIGAN; ‖ or, ‖ The Metropolis Illustrated. ‖ A Chronological Cyclopædia of the ‖ Past and Present, ‖ including a full record of territorial days in Michigan ‖ and the Annals of Wayne County. ‖ By Silas Farmer, City Historiographer, ‖ "native here

and to the manor born." ‖ Detroit: ‖ Silas Farmer & Co., ‖ corner of Monroe Avenue and Farmer Street. 1884.

INDEX. Colonel ARENT SCHUYLER DE PEYSTER. Pages 12, 13, 46, 78, 171, 174, 223, 227, 242, 243, 244. 248, 257, 259, 260, 261, 263, 264, 337, 338, 350, 357, 371, 550, 701, 879, 952.

Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Vol. 3, pages 229, 230, 217, 224, 231, 266, 292. Vol. 7, p. 135, 166, 188-9, 404-5. Vol. 8, p. 214, 220, 228.

Report ‖ on ‖ Canadian Archives ‖ and on the ‖ System of Keeping ‖ Public Records. ‖ By ‖ Douglas Brymner, Archivist. ‖ 1881, 1882, 1883, 1884, 1885, 1886. Ottawa. [Received through courtesy of Mr. Brymner.]

1887. HALDIMAND COLLECTION.—Pages 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, **119**, here de P., 121, 124, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 132, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, **146**, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 187, 188, 189, 190, 196, 197, 202, 203, 204, 211, 212, 213, 221, 222, **223**, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, **229**, **230–1**, **232**, **233**, **234**, **235**, 236, **237**, 238, 239, 240, **241**, 242, **243**, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, **261**, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 281, 283, **284**, 285, **290**, 291, 292, 295, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 305, 306, 308, 310, 311, 312, 313, 315, 317, 319, 320, 323, 325, **326**, 327, 329. Watts: 339, 340, 344, 343, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 353, 368, 371, 373, 374, 384, 388, 410, 412, 413, 417, 426, 441, 442, 443, 460, 463, 464, **492**, 493, 499, 515, 516, 537, **539**, **542**, **543**, 546, **549**, 550. (De P., G. J.; Sir J. J., W.)

Page xxi., Note to letter 2d Nov. 1779.—*Major* DE PEYSTER, of *Mackinaw*, sent out in the spring of 1779 a second expedition to join Hamilton in Illinois, but his [Hamilton's] capture foiled it, and that country remained in American hands thereafter. ☞ Had it not been for this, the boundary might have been fixed at the Ohio instead, of the Lakes.

"De Peyster was sent to Detroit to succeed Hamilton. * * * From this time on, although the forays continued with unabated fury through the Revolution, the Indians were encouraged to bring in *live* prisoners. Major Arent de Peyster, who came to Detroit in 1779, was a man of some distinction, and although on some occasions very arbitrary, was undoubtedly a good officer. * * * From the numerous indications of his character, appearing in records and elsewhere, the general inference is favorable. He had some literary pretensions, was a *bon vivant*, patronized liberally the card-parties, balls and assemblies, and was very happy in his domestic relations, though childless. On occasion he performed the duties of chaplain, and in that capacity married Thomas Williams (father of Gen. John R. Williams) to Miss Cecilia Campau, on the 7th of May, 1781. John Kirby, of Grosse Pointe, was baptized by one of the commanding officers, and this is said not to have been an uncommon occurrence. Whether Major (then Colonel) de Peyster performed this rite also does not appear, but it is quite likely. In many respects one is reminded, in considering him, of a *modernized* and *slightly toned down Baron of Bradwardine* [in Sir Walter Scott's 'Waverly']. In his latter days he retired to Dum-

fries, where, in 1796, he commanded the Volunteers, among whom Burns was enrolled. * * * Very kindly relations existed between the veteran and the poet, who addressed and dedicated one of his latest poems to his old friend and commander. * * * He [*Colonel* DE PEYSTER] was unquestionably arbitrary in his official dealings, but probably no more so than his own predecessors, who did pretty much as they pleased. * * * The success of the American arms and the annexation of Michigan to the United States might, very naturally, have embittered such a *fierce Loyalist* as de Peyster."—Pages 178–181, "Outlines of the Political History of Michigan," by James V. Campbell. Detroit, 1876.

"When Governor Hamilton left his post to go on a foray [and be captured at Vincennes, 24th February, 1779], Col. de Peyster, who succeeded him, filled the positions both of lieutenant-governor and commandant; and Governor Sinclair, although appointed to Mackinaw in 1775, did not go there until 1779, after Colonel de Peyster had left. Indeed, it seemed a matter of much indifference whether or not there was a lieutenant-governor resident at Detroit. Governor Hamilton's real successor, John Hay, was restrained from coming here for more than a year. He arrived at Quebec the last of June, 1782, but Colonel de Peyster, then in command at Detroit, anticipating his appointment, had written to General Haldimand, asking that he might be allowed, in case Hay was appointed, to leave the place 'either before or immediately on his arrival, as he did not wish to have anything to do with Mr. Hay.' *De Peyster's abilities were so manifest and so valuable at Detroit that General Haldimand was not willing to displace or displease him. Consequently after Governor Hay had reached Montreal, he was not allowed to go further.* He was very indignant that he should be prevented from going to Detroit to enjoy his office and emoluments, but General Haldimand would not yield to his angry demands, and *on several occasions sharply reproved him, and compelled him to retract some of his utterances.* At last, on October 30th, 1783, Colonel de Peyster was summoned to Niagara, and, three days later, Lieutenant-Governor Hay was ordered to Detroit. He started on his journey, reaching Carlton Island on November 24th; here he was taken seriously ill, and wrote to General Haldimand that he should go no further until spring. On December 6th, however, though still very ill, he left Carlton Island and went back to Montreal. De Peyster learned of his detention, and on December 8th, 1783, wrote from Detroit that the lateness of the season and the severity of the weather prevented his departure; but he would go as early as the season would permit. In the spring, Governor Hay recovered, and, on July 12th, 1784, arrived at Detroit. Colonel de Peyster remained until some time in June, and possibly later."—FARMER'S *History of Detroit.* 243, &c.

Pages 262–263, Article "St. Michael's, Dumfries," "The West of Scotland in History." By Joseph Irving. Glasgow, 1885. "Within St. Michael's the graves are still to be seen of Gabriel Richardson, * * * father of Sir John Richardson, an intrepid Arctic voyager, and of *Colonel* DE PEYSTER.

'My honored Colonel, deep I feel your interest in the poet's weal.' This officer of the *Dumfries Volunteers* survived Burns more than a quarter of a century, having been spared to the long age of ninety-six. With a reputation for severity acquired in the American War, *the Colonel appears to have been in reality a modest, warm-hearted man.* A few days before his death he wrote, and it has been appropriately placed on his monument:

"Raise no vain structure o'er my grave,
One simple stone is all I crave,
To say, beneath a sinner lies,
Who died in hopes again to rise,
Through Christ alone to be forgiven,
And fitted for the joys of heaven!"

In a note to BURNS' "POEM ON LIFE," addressed to Colonel de Peyster, Dumfries, 1796," the editor of the "Works of Robert Burns," published by Blackie and Son, Glasgow, Edinburgh and London, 1855, Vol. I., "Epigrams and Epitaphs," &c., page 138 (3), observes: "De Peyster, Colonel of the Dumfries Volunteers, distinguished himself in the American war. He was stern of spirit, and a strict disciplinarian; but beneath a somewhat rough exterior concealed a warm and affectionate heart."

Butterfield, in his "Crawford's Expedition against Sandusky, 1782," page 2, remarks: "The centre of British power and influence in the Northwest, was Detroit, where Henry Hamilton, 'a vulgar ruffian,' was in command; succeeded, however, before the close of the war, by Arentz Schuyler de Peyster, *who, although carrying out the policy of the British government, did so in the spirit of 'a high-toned gentleman.'*"

Page xxi., first line of letter, "*Captain* LERNOULT."—Richard Beringer Lernoult, captain Eighth or King's Regiment, 15th July, 1767; senior captain, in 1776; Major, 13th September, 1783, with rank in the army from 10th November, 1780; last record of him in British *Army List*, 1785.—See Silas Farmer's "History of Detroit and Michigan." 1880. Pages 222, 223, 227, 244, 246, 952. The first fort at Detroit was named Fort Pontchartrain, in honor of the French Colonial Minister of Marine; the first fort erected by the British was called Fort LERNOULT, or Shelby.

Page xxi., Note (1).—Messrs. GIRTYS and ELLIOT were Loyalists, and were persecuted and driven forth like a great many others holding the same views, and took service under the British crown. Persecution and spoliation are not conducive to amiability, and doubtless they *were* embittered by what they had suffered. The proverbial patience of Job is not common. No class has ever been so vilified as American Loyalists. Justice has never been done to them by American writers. The Rebels, or Patriots, first ruined the Loyalists, or Tories, in property, and then to excuse their sin (meanness augmented both) strove to ruin the reputation of their victims. These latter having been struck, doubtless struck back, and struck as hard as they could. Everyone to cover their own tracks appears to be utterly oblivious of that pertinent

passage of St. Matthew, xviii. 7: "Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!"

The cruelty and injustice, the meanness and misrepresentation of the Americans toward Loyalists has no parallel in the history of the world.

The historian Bancroft, by distorting history to pander to democratic sentiment, has done more than any one to perpetuate false judgment. For instance, he attributes a bullying remark to the writer's great-uncle, Major Thomas James of the Royal Artillery, which that officer could not have made as represented, because, as Major Francis Duncan states in his history of that corps, Major James was at the time in England. S. DeWitt Bloodgood, in the "Sexagenary, or Reminiscences of the American Revolution," is much more honest. At page 11 he says: "A gentleman's residence, called Vauxhall, was rifled and destroyed, and many valuable articles of a tasteful and scientific character, the laborious collection of years, were made into a bonfire and burned, *upon the* BARE PRESUMPTION *that the owner, Major James, was in favor of the obnoxious law.* It is scarcely possible for this generation to understand the state of feeling prevalent at this time. I will assert what I believe is now little known, that *many of our most wealthy and influential Whigs were at the bottom of these disorders.*"

The Americans never paid their just debts to any of the Loyalists, and set at defiance the solemn provisions of the Treaty of Peace and efforts of Congress to carry out its provisions in favor of the Loyalists. Governor George Clinton was more to blame than any other man in the State of New York. See C. H. Gifford's "History of the Wars." ii. 893, 974, &c., and

WASHINGTON-IRVINE CORRESPONDENCE: ‖ The Official Letters which ‖ passed between Washington and Brig.-Gen. William ‖ Irvine and between Irvine and others, con ‖ cerning Military Affairs in the ‖ West from 1781 to 1783. ‖ Arranged and Annotated, ‖ with an Introduction containing an outline of ‖ events occurring previously in the ‖ trans-Alleghany country. ‖ Illustrated. ‖ By C. W. BUTTERFIELD, ‖ Author of "Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky," "History of ‖ the Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet," ‖ and other works. ‖ MADISON, WIS.: ‖ DAVID ATWOOD, ‖ 1882. ‖ Hereinafter referred to as BUTTERFIELD'S W.-I. C., or simply as W.-I. C.—SABINE'S "*American Loyalists*," &c.

Page xxi., Note (2). *Captain* WILLIAM CALDWELL'S *Rangers*.—These constituted two companies in the famous organization known as BUTLER'S RANGERS. They were mounted men. Their captain was another Loyalist, from Chester county, Pennsylvania, who was attainted of treason and his property confiscated.

Page xxi., Note (3). INDIAN TRIBES and their localities.—From the following list and distribution territorially it will be seen that the jurisdiction, physical and moral, exercised by Colonel de Peyster extended over the territory bounded by Lakes Superior, Nipissink, Huron and the Ottawa River to the North; the Mississippi to the West; the Ohio the South, and Lake Ontario to the East; whose centre was Detroit, or Fort De Tret, as it

was styled in the deed of the Iroquois to William III., in 1701. How well he kept informed of what was going on throughout this immense area is wonderful. (See (9) page lxxiv.)

That Colonel de Peyster knew how to manage for the transmission and receipt of intelligence, the following is an interesting voucher:

On the 21st November, 1782, Colonel de Peyster wrote to Mr. McLean: "You desire to be informed of my ideas on the method of establishing a CORRASPONDENCE during the winter season. I have to inform you that, during my command at the upper post, I have frequently found it necessary to send expresses, which can be done with ease and with the greatest safety by employing two Indians and sometimes adding an interpreter. We generally equip the Indians for the journey, and promise them a present of silverwork at the post they are sent to, provided they travel with despatch, and on their return they receive their payment, which they choose to have mostly in rum."

ALGONQUINS.—These were a branch of the celebrated Hurons, once the rivals of the Iroquois or Six Nations, who threshed them all to pieces. Schoolcraft, in his "Oneota," says "Huron is the *nom de guerre* of the French for the Yendats, as they are called in some old authors, or the Wyandots. Their principal seat of trade, negotiation and early rendezvous, was the island of Michilimackinac, which they called *Tiedonderaghie.*"

ASSINNIBOINE; from the Ojibwa *Assinibwan*, "Stone Sioux."—The tribe—a branch of the Dakota family—is said to have received this name from the nature of the country it formerly inhabited. The term is composed of *Assin*, "a stone," and *Bwan*, "Sioux," or "Dakota."—"Annals of Fort Mackinac." By Dwight H. Kelton, Lieut. U. S. A. Island Edition, 1884. Page 145.

CHEROKEES.—Some of this tribe were located west of Northwestern North Carolina.

CHICKASAWS.—Of the same language as the Choctaws. Some of them were to be found in the present State of Kentucky, adjoining the Muskogees, generally known as Creeks, whose principal *habitat* was Western Georgia.

CHOCKTAWS, or *Flat Heads.*—Those of this tribe with whom this work has to do seem to have lived West or Southwest of the Cherokees herein mentioned. Some of them were to be found West of Northwestern North Carolina.

DELAWARES.—South of Lake Erie, and North of the Shawanese. This tribe was divided into three sub-tribes: 1, the Turtle; 2, the Turkey; 3, the Wolf, or [Minsi] Monsey.

CAPTAIN PIPE (*Kogieschquanoheel*), who constituted a prominent figure in connection with the Moravian Indians, was chief of the Wolves or Monseys. White Eyes (Koguethagechton), his rival, was at the head of the Turtles.

PIPESTOWN (Note 34, page xxxvii.) was the chief village and council-fire of the Monseys, about fifteen miles Northward from that of the Turtles.—"Events in Indian History." Lancaster. John & G. Hills & Co. 1843. Page 185, &c.

FIVE NATIONS, or Six Nations.—The League or Confederation of the Iroquois, of which the Mohawks (1) were the head and the Senecas (2) the most fierce; the Cayugas (3), Onondagas (4), the Oneidas (5). The last were seduced by the Rebel Americans to turn against their brothers and, in 1780, were justly wiped out by those to whom they had proved false. While the home territory of the Six Nations was on the Mohawk and in Western New York—exactly what Central Italy was to the Romans—these "Romans of the New World" carried their victorious arms beyond the St. Lawrence to the North; to, if not beyond, the Mississippi to the West; and to the Gulf of Mexico. All the other tribes stood in awe of them, and they perfectly realized the truth of the principle or motto, "Union is Strength," and constituted an Indian United States *E Pluribus Unum*.

GIBBEWAYS, *Odjibwas* (*Sauteux*, or *Sauteurs*, so called, says Mr. DOUGLAS BRYMNER, according to French Canadian writers, from their vicinity to the Sault Ste. Marie), inhabited the coasts and islands of Lake Superior (see (4), page lxxiii.), and, perhaps, at some time a portion of them were located on Lake Huron.

ODJIBWE, "*O'-jib-wa*, (English Chippewa), etymologically means 'one who drinks while holding the liquid at the extremity of the lips,' *i. e.*, by sipping. The word is not in practical use; but, if an Indian holds a bowl of soup to his mouth, and then draws in, or 'sips' the soup, they will sometimes, for a joke, say 'odjibwee-*minikwe*'—he drinks in Ojibwa fashion. Why, when, and where the term was applied to the tribe is unknown."—Kelton's "Mackinac." Page 153.

ILLINOIS were seated along the Illinois River, and at one time Lake Michigan bore their name.

KASKASKIAS, or *Kuskushees*, were in Southwestern Illinois, at the mouth of the Kaskaskia River; North of them were the

KAHOKIAS.—North of the preceding.

KIKAPOOS.—Formerly in Illinois.

LA FOURCHE Indians.—Between Chicagou and Illinois Rivers, Southwest of Lake Michigan, in the Fork (see Map) formed by the junction of the Sangamon River with the Illinois—present Mason county, Illinois.

LAKE, or, *Western* Indians.—See first paragraph, page 3, *supra* "Argument," "Speech to the Western Indians."

MASCOUTINS.—West of South portion of Lake Michigan (see Map), probably a branch of the MIAMIS—as he [MERMET] says they spoke that language—who had their village [in 1710] near the Fort *Vincennes*.—Page 13, Judge Law's "Colonial History of Vincennes." Vincennes, 1858.

MENOMINEES belonged to the Algonkin or Huron race, and were once located on the Illinois river. From *Manomini*, or *Omanomini*, the Ojibwa name of the tribe called, in their own dialect, *Omanomineu* (pronounced O-man-o-me-na-oo), and by the French *Les Folles Avoines*, "Wild Rice Indi-

ans." *Manomin* is the Ojibwa name of the "*zizania aquatica*," or wild rice. —Page 149, Kelton's "Mackinac."

MIAMIS.—Hinsdale, in the "Old Northwest," appears to assign the present State of Indiana to this tribe; the State of Illinois to the Indians of the same name; the State of Ohio to the Iroquois, or Five, or Six, or even Seven Nations (see Map), also Central New York; the State of Minnesota to the Sioux. He locates the Cherokees on the Cumberland River.

The MINNEAMIES, as the Miamis are styled in one book, were to be found on the River St. Joseph, West of Detroit, and Fort Miami, established 1679, was at the mouth of that river on Lake Michigan.

MINGOES, or *Minquaas*.—Southeast shore of Lake Erie, on White Woman's Creek in Ohio (see Butterfield's "Crawford's Expedition against Sandusky."—B. C. E. S. 63, &c.) For Legend of Walhonding (white woman) consult William E. Hunt's "Historical Collections of Coshocton County," Ohio. Page 13, notes * and †.

MISSISOGOES, *Mesassagnes*.—Northeast of Detroit, also north of and adjacent to Lake Superior. Sometimes written Mississaugues, who came from the neighborhood of Lake Nippissing and were said to have been accepted as a Seventh by the Six Nations, in 1746, but the alliance did not long continue. It is very doubtful if there were over Five Nations. As to the relative status of the generally admitted Sixth, the Tuscororas, authorities differ, also, as to the Seventh, which Drake says were the Shawanese, others say the Inoyuts, and others again the Messassagnes. (MISSISSAGA? G. W. C., 197.)

MITCHIGAMIS.—On the East shore of the Mississippi, above Fort Chartres, that is about St. Louis.

MITCHILIMACKINAC, "*Mishinimakina* (Mackinac Island).—We will consider the popular explanations: 'Big Turtle,' 'Island of the Giant Fairies,' and 'Island of the Dancing Fairies.' The usual rendering, 'Big Turtle,' agrees well with the Indian legend, according to which the island of Mackinac was originally a Manitou in the shape of a giant turtle. As it is said that Menabosho was the maker of the new world, and *was born on the Big Turtle Island*, this explanation of the term is rather tempting; might it not serve to connect the Indian legend with Asiatic cosmogony, according to which *the world rests on a giant turtle?* There is, however, one great difficulty. 'Big Turtle,' in the Western Algic dialects, would be *mishi-mikinak*, and the name of the island is *Mishi-nimakina*. In the 'locative' case the difference is still greater: '*Mishi-mikinakong*' and *Mishi-nimakinang*. The insertion of the syllable '*in*,' and the absence of the final '*k*' in *Mishinimakina*, can only be accounted for by the assumption of two ancient forms: *misshini* for '*mishi*,' and *makina* for '*mikinak*.' There is a bare possibility that these forms were once in use. 'Island of the Giant Fairies:' In a manner this rendering may be accepted. According to Indian belief, the Mishinimakina-gog, *i. e.* the people of *Mishinimakina*, are solitary wanderers, whose presence in the woods is betrayed by the reports of their guns, to see them being impossible—a kind of

Indian fairies. The fact underlying this belief, apparently of modern origin may possibly have been the fate of the broken-up tribe or band of the *Mishinimaki* Indians, who, perhaps, preferred a solitary life in the woods to being absorbed by other tribes. This, however, is a mere surmise. 'Island of the Dancing Fairies:' This explanation rests on the presence of the syllable '*nim*' in the name of the island. *Mishi*, 'great;' *nimi*, 'he dances;' *aki*, 'land;' hence, *Mishinimaki*, 'the great dancing land.' From being the name of the place, it became that of the inhabitants, as in the case of the *Abenaki* (*Wabanaki*, 'Eastland,' also 'Eastlander'), and, finally, *Mishinimakina*, 'the home of the people of the great dancing land,' was formed. On etymological grounds the derivation of the name from the root '*nim*' is hardly admissible; for the '*i*' in this root is long, while the corresponding vowel in *Mishinimakina* is short. Besides, the proper way of compounding '*nim*' with '*aki*' would be *nimiwaki*, 'dancing land.' "—Kelton's "Mackinac," pages 151, 152. (See pages ii. to v., *supra*: "Punch Bowl: La Tortu.")

MUSKAGIES.—Were very numerous in the territory which is now *about* the State of Alabama, Southern Georgia and Northern Florida. If any of these served under Colonel de Peyster, they must have been stragglers.

NOTTAWA.—"Indian *Nadowe* (pronounced nad-o-wa), the name given by the *Algonkin* tribes to both IROQUOIS (Six Nations) and HURONS. It is also the name of a species of snake."—Kelton's "Mackinac." Page 153.

NOQUETS.—Bay de Noc, corrupted from the French, *Bay des Noquets*, "Noquet Bay." The small tribe or clan of the *Noquet*, or *Noquai* Indians, was found in that neighborhood by the first French Explorers. Later on they were merged into the tribe of the *Bawitigowininiwag* (men of the stream lashed into dust), or Saut Indians. "*Noke*," the "totem" of the clan, is the sirloin of a bear.—Page 145, Kelton's "Mackinac." (See Map.)

ODJIBWAS, or *Chippewas*.—Located on the Winnipeg River and Lake, Northwest of Lake Superior.

ONEIDAS, one of the Five, or Six (Seven) Nations (Mohawks, Senecas, Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, Inoyuts, (Missisagoes?) and Tuscaroras).—Between Lake Erie and the Pickawillanies, or Picts, to the West, and Delawares to the East; south of whom again were the Lower Shawnees (see Map).

OSAGES.—Like the children of Esau these Indians were plunderers, their hands against white men and red men alike. They appear to have been principally in Missouri and Arkansas.

OTCHAGRAS, commonly called the *Puans*, lived on the shores of *the* Bay (La Baie, or Baie Verte, at present Green Bay); but being attacked by the Illinois, many were killed and the rest fled to the Riviere des Outagamis [Wisconsin] which discharges into the head of the [Green] Bay. Here they settled on the shores of a kind of lake, and living chiefly on fish, with which the lake abounded, the remains of the fish in a decayed state (*poissons pourris*), were scattered all along the shores and infected the air; hence the term "Puants," transferred to the Bay. "But the term *Baie des Puans* simply means bay of

brackish (NOT *stinking*) waters and I [Mr. DOUGLAS BRYMNER, Archivist, Ottawa,] believe the Indians received the name from the Bay, not the Bay from the Indians."

OTTAWAS, or *Cut Ears*.—This tribe, or a portion of it, was located on the extreme headquarters of White Woman's Creek, from which there was a portage across to the headwaters of the Huron River, which flows into Lake Erie. Another portion were to be found in Michigan, South of Saginaw Bay. Schoolcraft says that at one time they inhabited the Manatouline Islands, in Lake Huron, but were driven off by the Iroquois. They fled to the country between Lake Superior and the Upper Mississippi, but a large body of them were South of the Ottawa River, to the East of Detroit.

OTTAWA.—"Indian, *Otawa* (pronounced o-tah-wau, the second syllable being long). The meaning of the word is doubtful. Most Algonkin tribes are named after their ancient homes. If such be the case with the Ottawas, their name may possibly be derived from the root *taw* or *tawa*, 'an opening,' 'a gap,' 'a passage through,' and refer to the strait which separates Manitoulin, the home of the tribe before its dispersion in 1650, from the northern mainland. The prefix 'o,' and before vowels, 'od,' is commonly used for the purpose of changing topographical names into those of persons or tribes. Thus, from *sagi*, 'the mouth of a river,' is derived *Osagi*, '*Sauk*' or '*Sac;*' from ishkwagami, 'the last lake,' is formed Odishkwagami, Algonquin; from 'agaming,' 'on the other side of the water.' *Odagami*, 'Fox Indian.' Some have derived the name Otawa from *atawa*, 'he trades,' or atawewinini, 'a trader;' and since the Ottawas were great fur traders, that derivation might seem applicable; but the change from Atawe into Otawa, slight as it may appear to English speaking persons, is inadmissible in the Algic dialects. It is true, that in the form *Ondatawawat*, under which the tribe became first known to the French, the letter 'a' appears in the place of 'o,' but that form is evidently the Huron rendering of the Algic name. Hence, the name *Ondatawawat* was very soon dropped, and *Outauacs*, the plural of Otawa in a French guise, was substituted."—Page 153–4, Kelton's "Mackinac."

OTTIGAMIS, *Autagamies*, or *Foxes*.—On the Mississippi and Wisconsin Rivers (see Map).

OUIACHTANONS, *Ouyachtenons*, *Wauwaughtamies*.—South of the Twightwies, towards the junction of the Wabash and Ohio Rivers.

OUTAONACS.—South of Lake Superior.

PANIS.—Bordering on the Mississippi.

PEORIAS, or *Pioreas*.—Were one of the Five tribes of the Illinois, nevertheless Drake locates them on Current river, in Texas county, Missouri, and thence, southward, into Arkansaw.

PIANKISHAWS.—On the Wabash.

PICKAWILLANEES, or *Picts*, in Central Indiana.

PLUGGY'S-TOWN Indians (*Mohawks*).—A lawless gang, located upon the

Olentangy, or Whitestone, the principal Eastern tributary of the Scioto, some distance above its confluence with that stream.—B. W-I. C., Note 4, pages 9–10.

NIPPISINKS.—Inhabiting the borders of Lake Nippisink, N. E. of Georgian Bay, part of Lake Huron.

POTTAWATAMIES, *Pouteouatamis*.—Their habitat seems to have been between Lake Erie and Southern Lake Michigan, opposite Detroit, also along Lake Michigan, in the present States of Indiana and Illinois.

SAUKS, or *Saukies*.—These must be the *Sioux*, or *Scioux*, probably located on the Wisconsin River, and subsequently settled on the Mississippi. The SACKS, or *Sauks*, and FOXES, are frequently mentioned together.

SENECAS—Fiercest of the *Six Nations*.

SHAWANESE.—They are in Ohio, South of Lake Erie, nearest the Ohio River, at the junction of the Scioto. Some of this tribe lived South of Detroit, about two-thirds of the way to the Ohio (see SCHOOLCRAFT's "*Oneota*," 506). Shawanohtown, apparently the principal village of this tribe, was near the mouth of the Scioto River, in Indiana.

TWIGHTWIES.—On the lower Wabash district (see Map).

WEEKONKES, or *Mehonkes*.—The Editor finds mention of this tribe or subdivision of a tribe, but can discover no further particulars.

WINNEBAGOES.—"A portion of this tribe were to be found on the south side of Lake Michigan, Lake Winnebago. The Indians now call it *Winibigo-Sagaigan* 'the Lake of the Winnebago Indians;' but the original name was Winibi (pronounced *win-ne-be*), 'dirty water;' in the locative case *Winibing*, or, in the Southern Algonquin dialects, *Winibig*, the same as *Winipeg*, which is the Cree form of the same word. From the lake, the Winnebago Indians, who lived in that neighborhood before they moved to Green Bay, received their Algonquin name, and the early French, being informed of the fact that that tribe had formerly lived on the 'dirty water,' were led into the erroneous belief that the tribe had formerly lived on the sea, or on *salt* water, which the Indians also called 'dirty water.' This circumstance accounts for Nicolet's much-discussed assertion that on his voyage to Green Bay, he was within three days' journey of the sea. A three days' sail would have brought him to Winibig—the dirty water."—Page 148, Kelton's "Mackinac."

WYANDOTS.—Upon the Sandusky River, Southwestern portion of Ohio, on Lake Erie.

See "THE BOOK OF THE INDIANS; or, Biography and History of the Indians of North America, from its first discovery to the year 1841." By SAMUEL G. DRAKE, Fellow of the Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, at Copenhagen, Honorary Member of the New Hampshire and New York Historical Societies. NINTH EDITION. Boston, 1845. [For Indian Tribes over which Colonel de Peyster exercised authority or influence.]

ALGONKIN.—All over Canada, from low down the St. Lawrence to Lake of the Woods.

AQUANUSCHIONI.—The name by which the IROQUOIS knew themselves. V. 3, &c.

ASSINNABOIN (*Sioux*).—Between Assinn and Missouri rivers; 1,000 on Ottawa river in 1836.

CHAOUNONS.—The French so called the SHAWANESE. (Chowans?)

CHEEGEES (*Cherokees*).—50 to 80 miles south of them [the Shawanese]; called also Middle Settlement, 1780.

CHIPPEWAS.—About Lake Superior and other vast regions of the North. Very numerous.

CHOKTAW.—South of the Creeks, 15,000 in 1812; now in Arkansas.

CHOWANOK (*Shawanese?*).—In North Carolina, on Bennett's Creek, in 1708; 3,000 in 1630.

COHAKIES.—Nearly destroyed in Pontiak's time; in 1800 a few near Lake Winnebago.

COREES (*Tuscaroras*).—On Neuse river, North Carolina, in 1700, and subsequently. [Sixth Nation admitted into the League of the Iroquois].

DAHCOTA, or DACOTA.—The name by which the *Sioux* know themselves.

DELAWARE (*Lenna-lenap*).—Those once on the Delaware river and Bay; 500 in 1750.

DINONDADIES (*Hurons*).—Same called by the French *Tionontaties*.

FIVE NATIONS [IROQUOIS].—*Mohawks*, *Senecas*, *Cayugas*, *Onondagas* and *Oneidas*, which see.

FOLLES AVOINES.—The French so called the *Menominies*.

FOXES (*Ottagamies*).—Called *Renards* by the French; dispossessed by Black Hawk's war.

GRAND RIVER.—On Grand river, north side of Lake Ontario; Mohawks, Senecas and others; 2,000.

HURONS (*Wyandots*, *Quatoghies*).—Adjacent, and north of the Great Lakes; subdued by the Iroquois, 1650.

ILLINOIS, "*the lake of men.*"—Both sides of Illinois river; 12,000 in 1670; 60 towns in 1700.

IOWAYS.—On Ioway river before Black Hawk's war; 1,100 beyond the Mississippi.

IROQUOIS.—1606, on St. Lawrence, below Quebec; 1687, both sides Ohio, to Mississippi.

ISATIS.—Sometimes a name of the *Sioux* before 1755.

KASKASKIAS (*Illinois*).—On a river of same name flowing into the Mississippi; 250 in 1797.

KICKAPOO.—Formerly in Illinois; now about 300, chiefly beyond the Mississippi.

KISKAKONS.—Inhabited Michilimakinak in 1680; a *Huron* tribe.

LENNA-LENAPE (*Delawares*).—Once from Hudson to Delaware river; now scattered in the West.

MASCOUTINS, or *Fire Indians*.—Between Mississippi and Lake Michigan, 1665 (Sacs and Foxes?)

MASSAWOMES (*Iroquois*).—Once spread over Kentucky.

MENOMINIES (*Algonkins*).—Once on Illinois river; now 300 west of the Mississippi.

MESSAGNES.—2,000 in 1764, North of, and adjacent to, Lakes Huron and Superior. (Fort Messessaga, mouth Niagara river, named after them?)

MIAMIS (*Algonkins*),—Once on the river of their name; now 1,500, beyond the Mississippi.

MIKMAKS (*Algonkins*).—3,000 in 1760, in Nova Scotia; the *Suriquois* of the French. [Did any of this tribe ever find their way West to the Great Lakes? See EPIGRAM, page 62, *supra*, Text and Note †.]

MINGOES.—Once such of the *Iroquois* were so called as resided upon the Scioto river.

MINSI (MONSEYS?), *Wolf* tribe of the *Lenna-Lanape*.—Once over New Jersey and part of Pennsylvania.

MITCHIGAMIES.—One of the Five Tribes of the *Illinois;* location uncertain.

MUNSEYS ([see *Minsi*], *Delawares*).—In 1780, north branch of the Susquehannah river, to the Wabash in 1808.

NARCOTAH.—The name by which the *Sioux* know themselves.

NICARIAGAS.—Once about *Michilimakinak;* joined IROQUOIS in 1723, as Seventh Nation (?).

OJIBWAS (*Chippeways*).—30,000 in 1836; about the Great Lakes and north of them.

OTAGAMIES (*Winnebagoes*).—300 in 1780, between Lake of the Woods and the Mississippi.

OTTAWAS.—1670, removed from Lake Superior to Michilimakinak; 2,800 in 1820.

OUIATANONS, or WAAS (*Kickapoos*).—Mouth of Eel river, Indiana, 1791, in a village 3 miles long.

PADOWAGAS.—By some the *Senacas* were so called; uncertain.

PANIS (*Tonicas*).—40 villages in 1750, south branch of the Missouri; 70 villages on Red river in 1755.

PEORIAS.—97 in 1820, on Current river; one of the Five Tribes of the *Illinois*.

PIANKASHAWS.—3,000 once on the Wabash; in 1780, but 950; since driven West.

PUANS.—The *Winnebagoes* were so called by the French at one period.

QUATOGHIE (*Wyandots*).—Once southern side Lake Michigan; sold their lands to England in 1707.

RED WING (*Sioux*).—On Lake Pepin, under a chief of their name ; 100 in 1820.

ROUND-HEADS (*Hurons*).—East side of Lake Superior; 2,500 in 1764.

SANKHIKANS.—The *Delawares* knew the Mohawks by that name.

SAUKE,* or *Sac*.—United with the *Fox* before 1805 ; then on Mississippi above Illinois.

SAUTEURS, or *Fall Indians* of the French.—About the Falls of St. Mary.

SENECAS.—One of the Five Nations ; "ranged many thousand miles" in 1700.

SHAWANE.—Once over Ohio ; 1672, subdued by *Iroquois ;* 1,383 near St. Louis in 1820.

SIOUX.—Discovered by French, 1660; 33,000 in 1820; St. Peter's, Mississippi and Missouri rivers.

SNAKE.—*Aliatans* or *Shoshonees*.

SOUTIES (*Ottowas*).—A *band* probably mistaken for a *tribe* by the French.

TAHSAGROUDIE.—About Detroit in 1723 ; probably *Tsonothouans*.

TAMARONAS.—A tribe of the Illinois ; perhaps *Peorias* afterwards.

TETONS (*Sioux*).—"Vile miscreants," on Mississippi, Missouri, St. Peter's ; "real pirates."

TIONONTATIES, or *Dinondadies*.—A tribe of *Hurons*, or their general name.

TSONONTHOUANS.—Hennepin so called the *Senecas ;* by Cox called the Sonnontovans.

TWIGHTWEES (*Miamies*).—In 1780, on the Great Miami ; so called by the Iroquois.

UNAMIES.—The head tribe of *Lenna-Lenape*.

UPSAROKA (*Minetare*).—Commonly called *Crows*.

WOHPATONE (*Sioux*).—Rove in the country on north-west side of St. Mary's river.

WOHPACOOTA (*Sioux?*).—In the country south-west St. Peter's in 1805 ; never stationary.

WATANONS, or *Weas*.—See *Ouiatinons*.

WEAS, or WAAS (*Kikapoos*).—See *Ouiatanons*.

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* "A correspondent says that *Saginaw*, *Shiawassee*, and *Tittibowassa* are corruptions or compound words in the SAUK language.

"Saganaw, or *Saukee-nauk*, literally Sauk-Town.

"Shiawassee, *She-a-wass-aik*, 'Now it is light.'

"Tittibawassa, or *Thaw-thippe-a-wass-aik*, 'What place is the light.'

"Some years before the settlement of this country by Europeans, the SAUKS had several settlements within the Peninsula [of Michigan], especially on the Saginaw [river] and its tributary streams. Near where the Fort now stands, they had a considerable town, and around it extensive plantations of corn. They were attacked by some bands of Chippewas, Ottawas, Pottawattomies, &c., and driven beyond Lake Michigan. The conquerors remained in their country. Their language is a mixture of the language of the different stocks from which they sprang."—From the *Detroit Gazette*, December 6, 1822.

WINNEBAGO.—On south side Lake Michigan until 1832; *Ottagamies*, &c.

WOLF.—*Loups* of the French; several nations had tribes so called.

WYANDOTS (*Hurons*).—A great seat at Sandusky in 1780; warlike.

YEAHTENTANEE.—On banks St. Joseph's river, which flows into Lake Michigan, in 1760.

Compare 1. "The ‖ Book of the Indians; ‖ or, ‖ Biography and History ‖ of the ‖ Indians of North America. ‖ From its First Discovery to the year 1841." ‖ By Samuel G. Drake. ‖ Ninth Edition, ‖ with large Additions and Corrections. ‖ Boston: ‖ Benjamin B. Mussey. ‖ MDCCCXLV."

2. "Notes ‖ on the ‖ Early Settlement ‖ of the ‖ North-Western Territory. ‖ By ‖ Jacob Burnet. ‖ New York: ‖ D. Appleton & Co. 1847." (New York Society Library.)

Examine, 1. "The American Atlas, by the late Mr. Thomas Jefferys, Geographer to the King, and others." London, 1775. (New York Historical Society.)

2. "A Topographical Description of such parts of North America as are contained in the (annexed) Map of the Middle British Colonies, &c., in North America." By T. Pownall, M. P. London, 1776. (N. Y. Hist. Society.)

3. "A Tour in the United States of America." By J. F. D. SMYTH. Dublin, 1784. Vol. I., 229, 231. (New York Historical Society.)

INDIANS.*—From the beginning of this country, whenever the crown officials could not interpose between popular authorities and the Indians, except in the case of the Dutch in New York, their whole history teems with wrongs done by the white men, almost always without excuse. Lossing, concluding his consideration of the war with the Sioux in Minnesota and the West beyond, in 1862–63, observes:

"Our horror and indignation because of the atrocities committed from time to time by the savage tribes on the borders of civilization, should be somewhat tempered by the reflection that these may be logical and righteous retributions for wrongs committed by the Government in its dealings with the Indians, which, unfortunately, fall upon individuals. It is believed that the origin of nine-tenths of the troubles with the Indians may be traced directly to the agents of the Government in their dealings with these ignorant and confiding children of the forest." Then, after conceding "Such being the

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* INDIANS. "*Indolence.*—The Indian disappears before the white man, simply because he will not work. The struggle (in their history) was, between inveterate indolence and the most active and energetic industry, and the result could not be doubted."—GALLATIN.

Mental Capacity.—They have exhibited repeated proofs of intellectual powers apparently very superior to those of the African, and not very inferior to those of the European race. *Ibid.*

Father LE JEUNE says that it is admitted on all hands, that *they were superior in intellect to the French peasantry of that time.* *Ibid.*

[Which simply proves the Celt is susceptible of elevation and the Indian only of degradation.] 447, Schoolcraft's Oneota.

acknowledged fact," he goes on to make suggestions for remedial measures. It is very questionable if any remedial measures would now be of avail in this country, where there is no law which cannot be, in fact is not, overridden or nullified by public opinion or by political influence or interest. The atrocious injustice to the Indians began in Puritan New England, and was administered in its worst form by a New Englander to half-civilized Indians in New York, in 1779—to the noble Six Nations, who had saved this province from the French and their cannibal allies, when the Iroquois were under a just and honest Superintendent provided by the Crown. Is it wonderful that savages retaliate upon those who inflict a worse savagery than their own. It is very likely, as even a clergyman who went a great deal among the western tribes said, that "There *might* be a good Indian, but he had never met one, and perhaps the only real good Indian to be found would be a dead one." If so it is all the fault of the citizens of the United States. What an outcry arose on account of the Custer massacre. It was horrible, but who ever thinks of the massacre of a sub-tribe of the Blackfeet, the Piegans, who were the most civilized as well as the bravest of their nation, and generally friendly to the Whites. On the 23d January, 1870, there was an unprovoked massacre of these Piegans, when 173, chiefly women, were atrociously slaughtered at Red Horn's camp, on Maria's River, in the extreme N. W. corner of Nebraska.

Not a volume, however large, but volumes could be filled with the narratives of wrongs of the blackest dye towards the Indians, which justify any reprisals, however cruel, on their part, if any vengeance is consistent, not only with Christianity, but with simple morality.

Even well-read people forget the atrocities perpetrated in time of war by the troops of civilized nations. The crimes and cruelties, the beastly excesses, of the Napoleonic armies surpassed the worst of Indian atrocities, until expeditions such as that of Sullivan educated the Indian up to the standard of civilized wickedness. Nor were the British behind the French, as at Bajados and St. Sebastian. It is useless to refer to the Russians, because as a rule they are barbarians; nor to the Austrians, for their cruelties are cold-blooded and calculated; nor to the Pope's troops, as at Perugia, worthy of the worst days of the Inquisition or Dragonnades. Indians might have taken lessons from the Rebels in systematic torture. Witness the prison-pens of Belle Isle and Libby, under the very eyes of such a saint (*sic*) as Lee, and Andersonville and other places from Virginia to Texas. Quantrell in Kansas equalled the Red Men in Minnesota. The Indians, one hundred years ago, respected female captives. They learned the contrary from the Whites, styling themselves Christians. The French, in their Augustan Age, so styled, and their Roman Catholic Missionaries whetted the passions of the Indian tribes under their control against the heretic English and Americans. The crying sin of nominally civilized men is injustice, and there is no blot upon the escutcheon of the United States so vast and glaring as their injustice to the Indi-

ans for their loyalty to the British Crown, which had and has always been just to these "children of the wilderness."

Page xxii., Note (4).—*Colonel and Brig.-Gen. Sir* JOHN JOHNSON, *Knt. and Bart.*—The only trustworthy account of this gallant and estimable gentleman is to be found in "Munsell's Historical Series, No. 11;" "Orderly Book of Sir John Johnson during the Oriskany Campaign, 1776–1777. Annotated by William S. Stone, with an HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION, illustrating the Life of Sir John Johnson, Bart., by J. WATTS DE PEYSTER, LL.D., M. A., ★ ★ Anchor, ★ ★ and some TRACINGS from the Footprints of the Tories or Loyalists in America, contributed by THEODORUS BAILEY MYERS. Albany: Joel Munsell's Sons. 1882.

In order to enhance the imaginary stupendous triumph of the Americans, some of their writers assert that Sir John Johnson was present in the battle of Connewawah, or Newtown, Sunday, 29th August, 1779. At page liii. is a letter from Sir John, dated La Chine (near Montreal), 8th June, 1779. In it he makes no allusion to any intended movement to meet Sullivan, and from the tenure of the letter expects to remain at La Chine. If the reader will notice that this letter of Col. de Peyster was dated 2d November, 1779, at Detroit, and speaks of "news lately received from Niagara," these news could not have possibly referred back to events occurring over a month previous, since Indian runners and canoe-men would not have taken a week or ten days to carry important intelligence, requiring despatch, from Niagara to Detroit. The movements of the Johnsons and Butler must have been those intended to protect Niagara since.

"There are few men who figured largely at the period of the American Revolution who have been so wilfully misrepresented as Sir John. As his life, services and misfortunes will be dwelt upon at length in the second part, or volume, of this work, the reader must be content with the above reference and a few remarks. In the beginning, Sir John and wife were vilely treated by the Americans; cruelly, unjustifiably. Making his escape with the greatest difficulty, in 1776, and compelled to abandon his vast property and lovely wife, he returned, in 1777, under St. Leger, and fought the battle of Oriskany. If the punishment of enemies is any satisfaction for wrongs, the wicked persecutors of Sir John suffered bitterly in that battle, which was fought by him successfully against great odds. In every sense he was completely victorious, and had St. Leger listened to his advice, the result of the campaign in the Mohawk Valley would have been very different. The American forces have always been represented at far too low a figure, and those of the British and Loyalists just as much exaggerated. St. Leger had with him only about 350 to 400 white troops, and some 700 Indian warriors, whereas of the Americans there were nearly double that number of what might be termed regulars in Fort Stanwix, and Herkimer brought up to the relief of the garrison a force of militia which has been estimated as high as 900, out of which they lost in killed, wounded and prisoners fully one-half of the highest figure. The Indians

behaved very badly, proving on this occasion, as on so many others, their utter inefficiency where opposed to whites possessed of anything like military organization, or manliness. In Sir John's last invasion, 1780, it is hardly possible to appreciate the immense damage that he did, far beyond what might be expected from the numbers that he led. In the final engagement at Fox's Mills he was so fearfully outnumbered that his escape—let it be styled a defeat—considering the losses that he inflicted, could scarcely be considered, by anything but injustice, as less than a success. The Americans, claiming to be victors, *fell back* from one and a half to three miles to a cleared hill, where their commander was enabled to restore some order. Sir John remained upon the battleground, apparently, until the moon rose, when, profiting by its light, he forded the Mohawk and continued his retreat unmolested. So great was the damage he did, that French observed that these incursions left 'the remaining citizens stripped of almost every thing except the soil.'

"One of the arrows, poisoned with falsehood and malice, shot again and again at the reputation of Sir John, was the charge of his being deficient in courage. As remarked by a descendant of what the American people style 'patriots,' 'What greater proof of courage could Sir John Johnson have shown than his return in arms, again and again, into the heart of the country of which the population was hostile with the risk, in addition to all the perils of savage border-warfare, of being called upon to suffer the penalty of a violated parole. [This charge was untrue.] He fought with a halter around his neck, for many of the Loyalists or Tories were strung up without mercy for sins or crimes very small in comparison to those charged [falsely] against Sir John.' Again, as the same gentlemen observes, 'To suppose that Sir John would turn upon the hands [the King and British government] who had so bountifully exalted his father and himself, is to attribute to him qualities far worse than were brought against him by the contrary course, and brand him with the basest of all crimes—wanton ingratitude. There is no charge that the masses spit out so venomously at those who incur their displeasure, as cowardice. Was not Herkeimer stigmatized as a traitor and a coward because, by inculcating ordinary prudence, he strove to avert impending disaster at Oriskany? Was not Schuyler similarly insulted by one accepted as the historian of the country? And, yet, if the State of New York is a State today, it owes the fact to the self-sacrifice of Herkeimer and the wisdom of Schuyler, without which Burgoyne would not have failed, and without which Stark would not have succeeded, and without which Gates would not have triumphed."

Page xxii., Note (5).—*Colonel* GUY JOHNSON was a nephew of the famous Sir William Johnson, acted for some time as the private secretary of the latter, married Mary, youngest of his uncle's two daughters, and, when Sir William died, became Superintendent of Indian Affairs, or of the Indian Department—his cousin, Sir John, having refused the position. For a more detailed account of this gentleman the reader is referred to Sabine's "American

Loyalists, William L. Stone's "Life of Sir William Johnson," and various other works treating of the noted men of the period.

Colonel GUY had nothing, although it is often otherwise stated, to do with the Sullivan campaign. Colonel Guy Johnson, writing from Niagara, 18th February, 1780, states that he did not get back to Niagara until the 4th October, 1779, having wintered 1778–79 in Nova Scotia, and that he had been at Niagara for six months (meaning *about* six months), *i. e.* since 4th October, 1779. Consequently he could not have been at Connewawah on the 29th August, 1779, any more than Sir John, his brother-in-law. When Major Butler with his Rangers and other white troops had been defeated at Connewawah, Sir John Johnson was sent with a portion of his own regiment to take command of the forces and Indians assembled and assembling near Niagara, to protect that important British post, since it did not stand to reason that it was possible to believe Sullivan would retreat without acccomplishing something worthy of such a force as he commanded, 4700 to 5000 good troops. From concurrent testimony, for the writer has never seen more than circumstantial evidence, when Sullivan acquired in some way information that troops were accumulating under Sir John, to dispute the expected advance of the Americans upon Niagara—which should have been regarded as the *true objective*, and would have been the *real prize* of this campaign—Sullivan stopped short, 80 or 90 miles distant from it. The excuse alleged was the scarcity of provisions, which could not have been the fact, because on the very day, 15th September, when Sullivan commenced his withdrawal or retreat, more food was wantonly destroyed by his orders than would have sufficed to feed his army for a much longer period than was required for his advance to Lake Ontario, the more especially since in Fort Niagara, if he had been victorious, he must have found an accumulation of provisions, since it was a distributing depot. The fact is, Sullivan retreated as soon as a real obstacle presented itself. The curious reader, who wants more details of this wicked *razzia*, is referred to the writer's Centennial Articles, published in the New York *Mail:* 1. "Elmira," Friday, 29th August, 1879; 2. "Genesee," Monday, 15th September, 1879, &c., &c.

No real student can arrive at the truth of history if he only reads the statements of one side, unless he assumes the position of the Dutch Justice of the Peace in the Mohawk Valley, who made it a rule only to listen to the complainant, alleging as a sufficient reason that, if he listened to the defendant likewise, then the conflict of testimony and arguments bothered his head. It is to be feared that the majority of Americans are exactly in the condition of the Mohawk Justice in regard to the story of the Revolution and the infamous persecution of the Loyal Americans by the Whigs or Patriots.

Page xxii., Note (6).—"*Major* [John] BUTLER, an able Tory leader in the Revolution, was born in Connecticut, and died at Niagara in 1794. He was in official communication with the Johnsons in the Mohawk Valley before

the war, and was colonel in a Militia regiment in Tryon county, N. Y. In 1776 he organized a band of Rangers, white men and Indians, and was in command of them in the battle of Oriskany, and of a force which desolated the Wyoming Valley in July, 1778. He fought Sullivan in the Indian country, in central New York, in 1779, and accompanied Sir John Johnson in his raid on the Schoharie and Mohawk settlements in 1780. After the war Butler went to Canada, and was rewarded by the British government with places of emolument and a pension."—(Benson J. Lossing.) His son, Walter N., was a violent Tory, and was killed by the Americans, 29th October, 1781, in the Mohawk Valley, on the northeastern side of Canada Creek.

Page xxii., Note (7). *Captain* ALEXANDER MCKEE, Deputy Agent of Indian Affairs in Canada.—Lorenzo SABINE, in his "American Loyalists," with all his generosity, remarks: "Simon Girty, Matthew Elliott and Alexander McKee are mentioned together as forming a triumvirate in hostility to the Americans," from whose "tender mercies" they had escaped. Good or bad, Colonel de Peyster had nothing to do with their character. He was not consulted as to their employment. The British government selected them. His business was with the offices, not the individuals. He might have felt, in certain cases, like the generous, the great, the gallant Cornwallis, who, when Viceroy of Ireland, said and wrote that "his official duty compelled him to come in contact with individuals whom, otherwise, he would have driven from his presence and have kicked down stairs." It was not de Peyster's affair. Few men have been more villified by American writers than Cornwallis, and fewer have been less deserving of vituperation.

"Turning to our great dependency, of India, what splendid services have been rendered there by peers. The name of Cornwallis will be ever memorable for the invasion of Mysore and the submission of Tippoo Sahib.

"In more trying times how valuable were the services of Lord Cornwallis, whose energy and firmness in dealing with the great rebellion were so tempered with justice and discretion, that he gained for himself the good-will of the [Irish] people."—"The Patriotism of a Hereditary Peerage." *National Review*, L. L. A., 2297, 7, 7, 88.

In one of the editor's "Centennial" (Revolutionary) articles for 1880, xxxi., published in the *New York Evening Mail*, is extensively quoted the volume of a Southern writer, entitled "The Last Ninety Days of the War" (*i. e.*, "Slaveholders' Rebellion"). In it the author has done full justice to the magnanimity of Cornwallis, and proved that he was exactly the reverse of what he has been represented by American historians.

The reader's attention is particularly invited and directed to the fact that de Peyster was continually urging and inculcating humanity upon the Indians (consult Note (12), and his regular officers respected his orders. For instance, when the defeat of Crawford's expedition (B. C. E. S. 327), was assured, the British troops "did not stop to join in the festivities; they im-

mediately returned to Detroit." They were innocent of all blame for the cruelties which followed.

There is no use of entering into an examination of the merits or demerits of Loyalists like McKee, who were hunted out of their homes by the Rebel Americans and joined the British, and served with the Indians against the Colonists. C. W. Butterfield, already cited, is very fair, considering he wrote entirely on the American side of the question. While every objectionable act charged against a Loyalist is blackened to the extent of ink and gall, nothing is said of the damnable atrocities of the other side, which have no justification. Like those of the French officers serving with Indians they were inexcusable in men educated under Christian lights. It cannot be too often repeated that the true story of the American Revolution has never been told; the true picture of the character and deeds of the mass of the people with few exceptions, and those only known to the critical student, has hardly ever been drawn and painted.

No American writer has ever dared or attempted to reveal at length the truth in regard to the vast number of the best of their countrymen who were persecuted and driven forth by the Patriots or Rebels, as sorrowfully recorded by one of the victims. "There will scarcely be a village in England without some American dust in it, I believe, by the time we [exiled and proscribed Loyalists] are all at rest."—"*Life of* VAN SCHAACK." New York, 1842. He might have said the same of the vaster regions of the Dominion of Canada. In the course of varied reading the following extracts have fallen under the observation of the editor. These again might be swelled into a volume:

"There is ONE MONUMENT to a native American (CHARLES WAGG, Esq., of South Carolina), the only one, I suspect, in Westminster Abbey, and he acquired this memorial by the most un-American of qualities, his loyalty to his King. He was one of the Refugees leaving America in 1777, being shipwrecked on his passage, and the monument was put up by his sister. It is a small tablet with a representation of Mr. Wagg's shipwreck at the base."—Page 302. "English Note Books," by Nathaniel Hawthorne, Vol. I. Boston, 1870.

"He had discovered us to be Americans by the notice we took of a mural tablet in the choir to the memory of Lieutenant-Governor CLARKE, of New York, who died in Chester before the Revolution."—Page 152, *Ibid*, Vol. II.

"I am weary, weary of London and of England, *and can judge now how the old Loyalists must have felt* condemned to pine out their lives here, when the Revolution had robbed them of their native country."—Page 365-66, *Ibid*, Vol. II.

"A tablet on the wall [of the principal Kirk of Inverness] opposite to my seat forcibly attracted attention, and did not bespeak a very liberal spirit of the citizens [of Inverness] towards the Americans. It was erected in memory of a Mr. INGLIS, formerly a merchant at Savannah, Georgia. The inscription states that he was 'murdered by a band of ruffians hired by the execrable Congress,' on account of his fidelity to his king and country, while he was living with a friend near Charleston, South Carolina. I do not recollect the story of this Mr. Inglis in the history of our Revolution; but it is probable he was a Tory, and shared the fate of some of his brethren. Certain it is, that the monument is a disgrace [honor] to the church, bearing upon its face a falsehood [a truth] and a malice [justice] towards the 'execrable Congress' of 1776 as impotent as it is ill-suited to the walls of a sanctuary [well-suited where truth should reign]. I am willing, however, to believe that the epitaph expresses sentiments [justly] entertained of our government half a century

ago, rather than at the present time."—Extract from "Letters from Europe," by M. H. Carter, Vol. I. 8vo, New York, 1827, pages 276 and 277.

"*Hailsham* [Sussex county, England] is a quiet town, with an old and pleasant church in it, and, the door being open, of course I went in, for how can one pass by an old church unvisited? On the north wall I was struck by a tablet to the memory of *Colonel* PHILIP VAN CORTLANDT, a retired Royalist officer of the American War, died at Hailsham, May, 1814, aged 74. The VAN CORTLANDTS are still a large and widespread family in the United States, but doubtless this old Royalist officer found the repose of Hailsham more to be preferred, after the stormy period of the Revolution, than the homestead of his kinsfolk across the seas."—L. J. JENNINGS' (58) "Field-Paths and Green Lanes."

"ALEXANDER MCKEE was a native of Pennsylvania, and early became a trader among the Indians, carrying on a large business from Pittsburgh in conjunction with Alexander Ross, from 1768 to 1772, when he became Sir William Johnson's deputy Indian agent, resident at that place. He was, upon the erection of Bedford county, made one of its justices; and, upon the creation of Westmoreland, his commission was extended for that county. Upon the breaking out of the Revolution, he was suspected of Tory proclivities and was put upon his parole; which was afterwards renewed. Finally, in the Spring of 1778, he fled (along with Matthew Elliott, Simon Girty, and others), to the enemy, reaching Detroit at length, where he was continued in the Indian department. He had his headquarters * * * [in 1782,] in the Indian country among the Shawanese."—B. W.-I. C., 332, (1).

Page xxii., Note (8). "SULLIVAN and his army abandoned that Fort "(?)—[Niagara or?] SHEOGA, miscopy for Theoga (Tyuga), an Indian town on the peninsula between the Tioga and Chemung Rivers, near Queen Esther's Town, destroyed in 1778 by the Americans. Tioga Point is on the Susquehanna, at the junction of the Tioga, where Athens stands, South of the line between Pennsylvania and New York.— See "Centennial Record of the Sullivan Expedition, 1779," published by the State of New York, 1887, pages 111, 124 and 125. Consult the writer's "Centennial" articles on this subject, published in the New York *Mail*—1879. The attention of the reader is particularly directed to the language of these letters, which demonstrate the correctness of the opinion reached many years ago, that Sullivan's Expedition did him no credit, and did the Americans no good, except to prove that in this world the innocent and the helpless are almost always made to suffer for the crimes of the guilty and the powerful. This is no news, however, since nearly two thousand years ago it was formulated into a Latin axiom by Horace, but is doubtless as old as the dawn of philosophy.

It is supposed that when an extra exertion is made to prepare for an important military operation, the campaign is to be guided and directed by a principle of strategy, and has an *objective*. Gates had enough of the soldier in him to recognize this fact, and enough selfish judgment to feel satisfied that he could not reach the object intended. To gather an army, excellent under the circumstances, solely to lay waste a flourishing country, was simply to substitute a raid or razzia worthy of heathen savages for a military operation.

Those American writers who are honest enough to tell the truth saw this and denounced Sullivan. They knew what the real object, at which he should have struck, was Fort Niagara, through which the Six Nations communicated with their base in Canada, whence they derived their presents, rewards and supplies. As soon as Sullivan learned that Sir John Johnson was collecting white troops and Indians at that point, Sullivan stopped short and retreated. The rssult of this operation was twofold. Although Washington seemed to approve of what Sullivan had done (Washington was full of subtle, cool-blooded policy), so much dissatisfaction ensued that Sullivan resigned his military rank and command, which he had so eagerly sought at the outset. This was one result. The other was even more lasting in its effects. This raid did not frighten the Indians; they became even more spiteful and aggressive. They carried the tomahawk and the torch into districts which had hitherto escaped the visitations, and, for seven years, they were worse than ever. The spur of the wickedness of nominal Christians sharpened the Indians' appetites for destruction and blood. It gave spirit to the infliction of the defeats of Harmer, in 1790, and the catastrophe of St. Clair, Nov. 4th, 1791. After 1779 the Indians were never more the friends of the Americans. They became heart and soul the allies of the British, under whom they have lived in peace for a century, and it is more than likely that the cruelty that characterized all the Indian wars with the United States is not only due but directly traceable to the atrocities committed by the army of Sullivan, who imitated the barbarism of the Redskins, even converting their skins into leather breeches. Even an Indian understands justice, and the religion of the Turk forbids the very action in which a Christian commander gloried.

Page xxii., Note (9).—Even in these days of telegraphs and telephones news are reported as facts which, within a few hours, are discovered to have been baseless rumors. It is difficult to understand what particular operation the Colonel refers to, unless to the successes of the British in Georgia, or Sir Henry Clinton's expedition up the North River, in May–June, 1779, and the British raids on the coasts of Long Island Sound and at Portsmouth, Norfolk, &c., in Virginia.

Page xxii, Note (10). "SHEOGA," miscopy for Theoga (Tioga).—These remarks have some connection also with Notes (4), (5), (6) and (8).—In regard to Sullivan's expedition against the Five (or Six) Nations of Indians, in 1779, the truth has never been told, and it can never be told unless there are trustworthy records in the archives of the Dominion of Canada or in England. There are certainly none on this side of the border. As the accounts of the expedition generally read, they are about equivalent to narratives which come under the head of "Historical Romances." The first collision, known as the battle of Connewawah, Chemung or Newtown (now Elmira), had a terrible effect upon the Indians. An American historian, as a rule, anything but remarkable for his impartiality where the Loyalists are concerned, remarks: "They [the Indians] fought skillfully and courageously, and, but

for the artillery that was brought into play as speedily as possible, the victory would doubtless have been on their side. The cannonade produced a great panic among the Indians, yet their leader, who was seen at all points, and in the hottest of the fight, kept them long from retreating. Poor at length gained the summit of the ridge, outflanked the enemy, and decided the fortunes of the day." "The Indians resisted with uncommon bravery; nor could the breastwork have been forced without the assistance of the [American] artillery."

After all, perhaps the best succinct statement of the fight at Connewawah is to be found in Morse's "American Gazetteer," Boston, 1779—Article:

CHEMUNG.—"Between this place and Newton, General Sullivan in his victorious expedition against the Indians, in 1779, had a desperate engagement with the Six Nations, whom he defeated. The Indians were strongly entrenched, and *it required the utmost exertions of the American army, with field-pieces, to dislodge them;* although the former, including 250 Tories, *amounted to only 800* men, *while the Americans were 5000 in number and well appointed in every respect.*"

"The Highlanders, a brave race, even down to 1745, could not stand a cavalry charge. The cowardice of the English dragoons at Preston-Pans couched their blindness as to the efficiency of mounted troops. Cortez found the bold Aztecs, and even more intrepid Thalascans, equally afraid of his horsemen. Cannon had and has the same effect upon Indians, especially shells, which they styled "twice kill." Between superior numbers—Sullivan had about or nearly 5000 regulars or next to regulars and artillery, and he did not estimate the enemy, all told—five companies of British troops and Rangers and Indians—at over 1500. It is doubtful if there were more than 550 Indians and 250 Loyalists or Tories. American writers attempt to show that only 1500 of their troops were actually engaged, and that the rest were supporting the artillery, &c. Nor do the statements of casualties agree; although it is conceded the Christians (*sic*) scalped the dead savages they found in the field, and the Five Nations had very little show. His expedition "Out-Heroded" the savagery of savages, and was ineffectual except in stimulating the Indians to reprisals, which unfortunately did not fall upon him and his co-workers, but upon those innocent of his cruelties and of ravages almost universally condemned. He did not solve his problem.

"*From causes not clearly understood, Sullivan did not extend his victorious march to Niagara, the headquarters of the Tories and Indians, the breaking up of which would have been far more efficient in bringing repose to the white settlements* than the achievements just accomplished; but, having desolated the Genesee Valley, he crossed the river and retraced his steps. When the army recrossed the outlet of Seneca Lake, Colonel Zebulon Butler, of Wyoming, was sent with a detachment of 500 men to pass around the foot of Cayuga Lake and destroy the Indian towns on its eastern shore. Lieutenant Dearborn was dispatched upon similar service along its western shore; and

both corps, having accomplished their mission, joined the main body on the Chemung. Butler had burned three towns and the capital of the Cayugas, and Dearborn had destroyed six towns and a great quantity of grain and fruit trees. ☞ The army reached Tioga [S[T]heoga], its starting place, on the third of October, when it was joined by the garrison left in charge of Fort Sullivan. Destroying that stockade, they took up their line of march on the 4th for Wyoming, where they arrived on the 7th, and pitched their tents on the former camp ground of Wilkes-Barre. The next day a large portion of the troops left for Easton, on the Delaware, at which place they were dismissed. Some of Sullivan's officers remonstrated against orders for a destruction a Turk would not have given; others "would not see any apple or peach trees, so that a few were left to blossom and bear." "*Thus ended a campaign before which we would gladly draw the veil of forgetfulness.*"

"It is not known how many of the Americans were lost; but the general brought back only 300 horses out of 1400 which he had taken with him," and yet "The whole of this destructive expedition was comprised in the space of a month. Sullivan did not wait for Sir John Johnson and somewhat regular enemies.

"Although beaten back into the wilderness, and their beautiful country laid waste, *the Indians were not conquered*, and in the spring of the following year Brant and some of his followers were again upon the warpath. During the winter the threat of Sir Frederic Haldimand against the Oneidas [who had proved false to the Bond of Centuries and joined the Americans]—was executed, and Sullivan's razzia in part avenged. Next year Schenectady was again reduced to the role of a frontier town.

"The immediate result of this [Sullivan's] expedition was neither beneficial to the frontier or serviceable to the country at large. The army failed in its efforts to cripple the effective force of the enemy, and the frontiers were ravaged with still greater diligence by the savages, to revenge the desolation which had been spread around their own villages; while the country suffered from the effects of a campaign which produced so complete a destruction of the evidences of civilization in an enemy's country, in the condemnation which it received from every friend of mankind. *A greater degree of barbarity than Pontiac or Brant ever exercised*—PUTTING EVEN WYOMING TO THE BLUSH—was seen in the savage mutilation of the bodies of the fallen enemy, by scalping them, and by flaying them *for boot-tops;* in the destruction, without any mercy, of *the growing crops*, and of *the orchards* which surrounded the dwellings; *in the burning of cabins, with the helpless and decrepit who had sought refuge therein, after the latter had received promises of protection:* and no one can read the details of the movements, in all their parts, without lamenting that the honor of the infant republic, and the progress of civilization among the savage aborigines of New York, should have experienced, at the hands of a Continental officer, so severe a blow."—" Dawson's Battles of

the United States." Vol. I., Pages 541. 542. (Majority of italics and caps not in original.)

Why did not Sullivan go to Niagara? Those who tell the story on the other side, say that he did not want to encounter Sir John Johnson and the forces, whites and redskins, gathering in that direction to give him a very warm reception. "Retired" is a very mild expression for what must have been a precipitate withdrawal. If the information was correct upon which Colonel de Peyster's letter is founded, especially if Sullivan left 800 head of cattle at Sheoga (Tioga, near where he had his first fight), it looks very much as if the American major-general feared what might be coming to make him, as Paddy says, "lave that." The story of the Loyalists and the Indians has never been told, and as honest Mr. Baxter, of Maine, says in his Note 178 to Page 243 of Lieutenant "Digby's Journal," Albany, 1887: "During our [British] stay there [Fort Edward, 1777], many of the country people came to us for protection. Those are styled by the enemy 'Torys,' and greatly persecuted if taken after fighting against them" [the Rebels]. (178.) "This is a moderate statement of the fact. Not only were they killed and banished, but Sabine tells us that the Whigs, after the peace, 'instead of repealing the proscription and banishment acts, as justice and good policy required, *they manifested a spirit to place the humbled and unhappy Loyalists beyond the pale of human sympathy.* A discrimination between the conscientious and pure, and the unprincipled and the corrupt, was not, perhaps, possible during the struggle; but, hostilities at an end, *mere loyalty should have been forgiven.*" [The Rebels or Patriots in the Southern Colonies, who had fought against their Loyal brethren with a venom hitherto unsurpassed in civil warfare, manifested a far more generous spirit towards the vanquished after hostilities ceased than the victors in the Northern Colonies, who had no such excuse for their conduct as the people of the South, who, as a rule, and with the exception of a cultivated class, had not experienced the ameliorating influences enjoyed by the inhabitants of what now constitutes the Eastern and Middle States.] And we are further told that, "throughout this contest, and amidst all those qualities displayed by the Americans, many of those qualities being entitled to high respect and commendation, there was none certainly less amiable than their merciless rancor against those among them who adhered to the royal side." The most severe laws were passed against them, one of which, enacted by the State of New York, declared that "any person being an adherent to the King of Great Britain should be guilty of treason and suffer death!"—*Vide* "Loyalists of the American Revolution." (Sabine.) Boston, 1864. Vol. I., page 88; "History of England." (Mahon.) Vol. VI., page 127; "History of the American Revolution." (Ramsay.) Vol. I., page 295; "The Loyalists of America and their Times." (Ryerson.) Toronto, 1880. Vol. II., pages 5, 78, *et passim.* [See also "New York during the Revolution," by Judge Thomas Jones. Edited [with copious critical and historical Notes], by Edward F. de Lancey.]

Page xxii., Note (11). DESTRUCTION of the *American Fleet.*—Although news did not travel a century since with the lightning speed as at present, it was often more trustworthy. This destruction of the Rebel fleet refers to the American expedition against the British fort on the Penobscot. The land forces were under General Lovel, who effected nothing, and it ended in disgrace and disaster. The American fleet, consisting of eighteen armed vessels and twenty-four transports, was entirely destroyed.—See the editor's "Centennial" (Revolutionary) articles in the New York *Mail.*

Page xxiii., Note (12).—*Colonel* DE PEYSTER'S *Humanity and Chivalry;* see Page xxv. (16), xxxix. (30); xxxv. ☞; xxxix.–xl., Letter of 20th April, 1783, and elsewhere in his correspondence and contemporaneous documents, and recent publications. If there is any direction which is impressive in Colonel de Peyster's letters of instruction to subordinates, it is inculcating HUMANITY.—See page xxi.; again, at this point, at pages xxv., Note (16); xxxiv., Note (30); xxxv., xl.; in fact, throughout his correspondence. Silas Farmer, in his exhaustive "History of Detroit" (page 261), refers to it at some length, and cites the Colonel's letters and opinions. Even although his official kindness and personal generosity was prompt and effective, there are American writers, who claim the title of historians, who have either been silent in this regard, or "damned" the Colonel "with faint praise," whereas he deserved the loudest approval. This is doubtless due to the necessity of pandering to an emnity which is not capable of rendering justice to a Loyalist. Mr. J. V. Campbell is certainly American enough to please colonial Chauvinism. Nevertheless, in regard to the Moravian Indians (see page xxix., Note (25), he meets out justice to the *charity* (*bien-faisance*) of Colonel de Peyster:

"Under the orders of Colonel de Peyster, brethren Zeisberger, Senfeman, Heckenwaelder and Edwards were arrested, near what is now Sandusky, by two Delaware Indians, who had allied themselves to the English. * * * *Colonel* DE PEYSTER *offered them the use of his own house, and gave orders that they be provided with clothes and other articles. They had been robbed of their watches and* DE PEYSTER *bought them back of a trader, to whom the Indians had sold them, and returned them.* He also told the missionaries that they might remain at Detroit, or go to Bethlehem, as they preferred."—SILAS FARMER'S *History of Detroit*, page 550.

Page xxiii., Note (13). SHAWANEE'S *towns.*—These were situated in what is now Logan county, in West Central Ohio. It is intersected by the Miami River. Chillicothe was the principal Shawanese town, now Piqua, Miami county, Southwest of Logan county, Ohio.

Page xxiii., Note (14).—"In 1780, *Captain* BIRD'S famous expedition set out southward, and, among other depredations, destroyed several Kentucky settlements. This was organized at great expense, under orders of General Haldimand, who had succeeded Sir Guy Carleton in his command of the Province. The expenses of outfit at Detroit alone were nearly or quite

$300,000. Bird found it difficult to restrain the Indians, who made complete work; and it is supposed that *motives of humanity* [as ordered by Colonel de Peyster, Note (12),] induced him to suspend going further. The inhabitants were made Indian prisoners, and stripped of all their possessions. In August, 1784, Bird, in selling a mulatto woman, warranted his title by stating that, at *Martin's Fort*, she was among the booty captured by the Indians and given to him afterwards by the captors."

"This expedition was accompanied by Detroit militia, commanded by CHABERT DE JONCAIRE, JONATHAN SCHIEFFLIN, ISIDORE CHENE, and others.

"This aroused great excitement in the United States, and various plans were proposed to send expeditions under Brodhead and Clark to capture Detroit. Clark was very anxious to undertake it, but the invasion of Virginia by CORNWALLIS suspended these side issues, and nothing effective was done.

"During the various Indian expeditions, and other frontier warfare, there had been some difficulty in keeping all the tribes contented under the British control, and all sorts of expedients were resorted to, in order that this might be secured."—Pages 181, 182, JAMES V. CAMPBELL'S "Outlines of the Political History of Michigan." Detroit, 1876.

The forts to which Colonel de Peyster alludes in this letter were those which had been erected or established by the Americans in the Shawanese country. See C. W. BUTTERFIELD'S "*Washington-Irvine Correspondence*," "Introduction," which, with his Notes, furnish more satisfactory information in connection with the hostilities between the Colonists, the Indians and the Crown than any of the numerous works on the subject examined by the editor, and, *as a clear compendium, they are worth all the rest of them put together.*

"Early in this year [1780] Captain HENRY BIRD'S expedition against Kentucky was fitted out, and on April 12th, after an expenditure of nearly $300,000, the force left Detroit. It was made up of both white men and Indians, numbered nearly six hundred persons, and, for the first time on such an expedition, cannon were taken. The American spies informed the people of its organization, and fear and dread pervaded the entire West, while the colonists in the East awaited anxiously the records of its doings. On June 22d the force appeared before *Ruddle's Station*, which surrendered, on condition that the inhabitants be considered prisoners of the British, instead of the Indians. Captain BIRD, however, was unable to restrain the savages, and men, women and children were indiscriminately and remorselessly massacred. The Indians now became refractory, and, after the capture of *Martin's Station*, and one other small fort, the force was compelled to return without having accomplished all that had been intended. A letter from Colonel DE PEYSTER to Colonel BOLTON, dated Detroit, August 4th, 1780, says:

"'I have the pleasure to acquaint you that Captain Bird arrived here this morning with about one hundred and fifty prisoners, mostly Germans who

speak English—the remainder coming in; for, in spite of all his endeavors to prevent it, the Indians broke into the forts and seized many. The whole will amount to about three hundred and fifty. * * * Thirteen have entered into the Rangers, and many more will enter, as the prisoners are greatly fatigued with travelling so far, some sick and some wounded.

"'P.S.—Please excuse the hurry of this letter, the Indians engross my time. We have more here than enough. Were it not absolutely necessary to keep in with them, they would tire my patience.'"

"The British now became greatly troubled by the attitude of the Delaware Indians. This tribe had decided to remain neutral, and also sought to restrain other tribes from entering into the contest. The English suspected that the Moravian missionaries, who had a mission among them, were responsible for this action, and therefore looked upon them with disfavor. The Moravians were advised by the Americans to return to Pennsylvania, but they persisted in remaining at what they deemed the post of duty. Finally, the Americans sought the Delawares as allies in the war; they not only refused, but the body of the tribe soon after cast in their lot with the English. In order to confirm them in this purpose, Colonel DE PEYSTER determined to remove the missionaries from among them, and, in September, 1781, he compelled them to forsake their settlement on the Muskingum. With sad hearts they left their homes and fields, their cattle, their books and all their household treasures, and, escorted by Indians commanded by English officers, they were marched to Sandusky, where they arrived on the 11th of October, and from there, on October 25th, they set out for Detroit. An account of their arrival and treatment while here is given elsewhere. That they were really favorable to the American cause is evident from a letter of Colonel BRODHEAD to General WASHINGTON, dated December 13th, 1779, which states that *he relied almost wholly on the Moravians for information from Detroit.* [This is a sufficient justification of any apparent harshness on the part of de Peyster.]

"Under the labors of the missionaries many of the Indians had become Christians, and were entirely guiltless of wrong to either British or Americans; but in those days Indian massacres were so frequent that there was but little sympathy for the red race. Many Americans, exasperated by the outrages of hostile tribes, held all alike guilty, and a body of militia from Washington county, Pennsylvania, commanded by Colonel David Williamson, was raised to proceed against the Delawares. Many of the Christian Indians had meantime returned to their settlements on the Muskingum; and, on the arrival of Williamson, on March 8th, 1782, these *really inoffensive people*, who had assembled in two houses, were attacked, and *sixty-two grown people and thirty-four children were deliberately massacred by the Americans.* ONE OF THE BLACKEST CRIMES *of the Revolution was thus perpetrated by Colonial militia.*

"This questionable success of Williamson and the hostility of the Dela-

wares led to the organization of a new expedition, commanded by Colonel William Crawford, who proceeded against them on June 4th, 1782. When near what is now Upper Sandusky, he was met by a party of about two hundred Indians and one hundred of Butler's Rangers, from Detroit, under command of Captain William Caldwell. A battle ensued, in which Crawford's forces were victorious; but the next day the British were reinforced with a detachment of Rangers and more Indians, and the Americans retreated. Colonel Crawford became separated from his command, was captured by the Indians, and burned to death on June 11th, 1782. *The English were not parties to the burning of Crawford.* On August 17th, 1782, General Haldimand wrote Colonel de Peyster, regretting the cruelty committed by some of the Indians upon Colonel Crawford and desiring de Peyster to assure them of his utter abhorrence of such procedure. *It is due to Colonel de Peyster to state that he often manifested his disapproval of the cruelties of the Indians and felt that he had a difficult part to perform.* In a letter written April 12th, 1781, to the Delaware Indians, and contained in his "Miscellanies," he says:

"Send me that little babbling Frenchman, named Monsieur Linctot [see Poem, page 7, Note 5 and elsewhere], he who poisons your ears, one of those who says he can amuse you with words only—send him to me, or be the means of my getting him, and I will then put confidence in you. I then will deal with you as with other Indians whom I call my friends, my brothers and my children, and to whom I request of you to give free passage and kind entertainment. If you have not an opportunity to bring me the little Frenchman, you may bring me some Virginia prisoners. I am pleased when I see what you call *live* meat, because I can speak to it, and get information. Scalps serve to show that you have seen the enemy; but they are of no use to me. I cannot speak with them. I request of you to give free passage to such Virginians as have a mind to speak with me, that you will not offer to stop them, but make a straight and even road for them to come to Detroit."—Pages 260–261, "The History of Detroit and Michigan." By Silas Farmer. Detroit, 1884.

Page xxv., Note (15). EIGHTH, or KING'S REGIMENT.—See pages lxxxiii. to lxxxvii., *supra*.

By the Royal warrant of the 19th December, 1768, containing Regulations for the colours, clothing, &c., of the marching regiments of foot, it was directed that the "VIII., or KING'S REGIMENT, should bear in the centre of their colours the *White Horse*, on a red ground, within the garter, and Crown over it. In the three corners of the *second* colour, the King's cypher and crown. On the Grenadier caps, the King's Crest; also, the White Horse, as in the colours. The same device of the White Horse within the Garter, on the drums and bells of arms. Rank of the Regiment underneath."—Pages 65 66, "Historical Record of the Eighth or King's Regiment of Foot." London, 1844.

Page xxv., Note (16).—See Note (12), page cxxi.

Page xxvi., Note (17).—Mr. Surphlet, "Indian Interpreter in Colonel Guy Johnson's Department" (Douglas Brymner, 14, 5, 88).

Page xxvi., Note (18). SHETRIE, or Shehie.—I can find no traces of this name, and Mr. Douglas Brymner, Archivist of Canada, writes: "Know nothing of the man."

Page xxvi., Note (19).—ROCHE (ROCHER) DE BOUT is not put down on any of the old maps. It was, no doubt, the *Roche* or *Rocher de bout*—"Rock on End"—called in English "STANDING ROCK," located on the Maumee river, above the Rapids at Waterville, some three or four miles above what is now called Perrysburg, and on the west side of the stream. In Howe's *Hist. Coll. of Ohio* it is erroneously called "Rocher de Bœuf."

It is quite impossible to trace, except approximately, the route taken from the point of debarkation to Rocher de Bout, from the description of it given by Colonel Lowrey. The only certainty about it is that it was the shortest practicable route which kept clear of "the many small rivulets that disembogue into Sandusky river," which, "in the spring, were swelled to large, deep streams." The "glades or savannas" mentioned are the *Sandusky plains* (See *post*. p. 366, Note 2), page 355, "WASHINGTON-IRVINE CORRESPONDENCE," by C. W. BUTTERFIELD. Madison, Wis., 1882.

Page xxvi., Note (20).—"Before Brodhead or Clark had an opportunity to make the trial [to take Detroit], one Colonel La Balm, who came to America with Lafayette, attempted the capture of Detroit. The story of his failure is thus told, in a letter written by Colonel De Peyster to General Haldimand, dated November 13, 1780. [Report on Canadian Archives, by Douglas Brymner, Archivist, 1887, page 229.]

"A body of Canadians [French were usually so styled], commanded by Colonel La Balm, were defeated on the 5th inst. by the *Miami Indians* near that village [now Fort Wayne, Indiana]. The Colonel and between thirty and forty of his men were killed, and Mons. Rhy, who styles himself aide-de-camp, taken prisoner. They relate that they left the Cahokias [within a few miles of the present St. Louis] on the 3d of October with 41 men; that a large body were to follow them to the Onia, from whence Colonel La Balm proceeded to the Miamis with one hundred and three men and some Indians, without waiting for the junction of the troops expected, leaving orders for them to follow, as well as those he expected from Post Vincent. His design was to attempt a *coup-de-main* upon Detroit, but finding his troops, which were to consist of 400 Canadians and some Indians, did not arrive, after waiting twelve days they plundered the place, and were on their way back when the Indians assembled and attacked them."

"In a letter dated three days later, de Peyster says La Balm's force entered the village, took the horses, destroyed the horned cattle, and plundered a store I allowed to be kept there for the convenience of the Indians. La Balm's watch, set with diamonds, his double-barrelled gun, spurs, regimentals and some valuable papers were brought to de Peyster by an Indian.

A letter from General Haldimand to Colonel de Peyster, dated January 6, 1781, says: 'I have received your letter of 15th November, reporting the defeat of Mons. La Balm, and transmitting his commission, &c.'" (Farmer, 257.)

Page xxvi., Note (20). This refers to La Balm's adventure (see page cxxi., &c).—"One Brady" was described as a Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Congress, and, if under the commission of Helm, the latter was American commandant of Post Vincennes when Governor Hamilton took it, 17th December, 1778. Brady was taken prisoner by the Indians, and with two others was transferred to the Canadian Du Quindre. (See P. S., page xxii.) Brady said "he had no longer a desire to remain in the Rebel service," and gave information of Clark's intention to attack Detroit. (Douglas Brymner, 14, 5, 88.)

Page xxvii., Note (21).—"Captain Thompson" "was a captain in the Indian Department with McKee, against Clark, on the Ohio, in August, 1781, The expedition failed from the bad conduct of the Indians."—DOUGLAS BRYMNER, 14, 5, 88. (See B. W.-I. C., page 55?)

Page xxvii., Note (22). LAURIMUS'.—The editor thought this must be a misspelling in original or copy, and should be *Loramie*'s store, a British trading-post at the carrying-place on the creek of same name, which flows into the Miami river at Piqua. It was at or near the present *Loramies*, Shelby county, Ohio, North of Piqua, which is 78 miles North of Cincinnati, and was formerly the principal Shawanese town, Chillicothe, on the river Great Miami and the Columbus, Piqua and Indiana R. R., in Miami county. Mr. Douglas Brymner, however, says (14, 5, 88), that this name Laurimus is a miscopy for Laurimier, or Lorimier, and that one of his descendants is or was very recently in the [Canadian] Indian Department, and Indian agent at Caughnawaga, opposite Lachine, near Montreal.

Page xxvii.—[☞] "*The* LITTLE *war is by no means the thing.*" There spoke the SOLDIER. Wellington said, "*A* GREAT *country ought never to make* LITTLE *wars.*" A noted British statesman published a volume which was one long wail over 'England's Little Wars.' If ever Great Britain carried on a "little war," it was against the Thirteen Colonies, 1775–1783, and against the United States, 1812–1815, frittering away its strength in operations without importance as regarded the great result, instead of striking home at vital points. It was the same case even with Napoleon after he became insane in his utter despotism—a Tamerlane, a Darius, yes a very Xerxes—commencing the Russian War, which inaugurated his ruin, before he had finished the Spanish War, which otherwise would be sure to ruin him if he failed elsewhere. So it was with the Loyal North during the Slaveholders' Rebellion, until the saddest experience taught some kind of common-sense. Such was particularly the case when Lee made his "second sortie," in June–July, 1863. If the North had abandoned its system of "little war," and made war greatly for once, the conflict would have terminated in Pennsylvania in the first week of July, 1863. In this connection the reader's attention is invited to the fol-

lowing extract from a pamphlet written and published by the editor in New York, in 1867, entitled "The Decisive Conflicts of the Late Civil War, or Slaveholders' Rebellion: Battles Morally, Territorially and Militarily Decisive."

"When the first reliable news of Lee's invasion of the North, in June–July, 1863, reached [me at my residence, near] Tivoli, I pronounced the movement 'the last desperate throw of a gambler, who recklessly stakes all his remaining fortune on a single cast of the dice.' Satisfied of what must be the inevitable result, if the Government displayed common-place energy, and profited by the examples furnished by the conduct of great generals in parallel situations—lessons with which military history abounds—the letter following was written and addressed to the President. As was afterwards discovered, the view taken of the case therein coincided, almost word for word, with the counsel of the wronged but prescient Hooker. The letter was held back by a person, since deceased, to whom it was entrusted to forward, and, when too late to have any effect, was returned. Subsequently the editor of a leading journal, friendly to Gen. Hooker, desired to publish it. Such was the disgust—if the expression is permissible—however, consequent upon the escape of Lee, that it seemed useless either to propose anything like a common-sense plan of operations, or hope for better things as long as Gen. Halleck, or whoever directed or controlled military movements, was retained as supreme military director at Washington, or exercised influence or authority there over the generals in the field; since it seemed to be understood that the general interests of the country, especially in June–July, 1863, had been sacrificed in a great measure to prejudices or personal dislikes, want of comprehensive views and consequent errors in judgment. The result proved the correctness of Hooker's judgment, and this letter is printed to prove that he was not alone in his convictions of what measures were necessary to insure success. A few thousand veteran troops, in addition to those on hand in Maryland and at Washington, thrown upon Lee's communications, would have terminated the career of that Army of Northern Virginia which escaped from Gettysburg to protract the war for twenty months and cost the country hundreds of millions of dollars and the lives of more soldiers than had been squandered in the two preceding years at the East. That the Rebels feared this very movement is abundantly proved by the following extracts from the journal of a Union general, taken prisoner, 2d July, at Gettysburg: "At Martinsburg, which was crowded with Rebel wounded, it was authoritatively reported that a brigade of our cavalry was not far distant, and its coming was momentarily expected. Fears were entertained that the two brigades of Pickett's division, which had been stationed on the Peninsula, and were hastening to join Lee, would be cut off." "Both in Martinsburg and Winchester, Loyalists were jubilant and Rebels dispirited at the prospect. The latter anticipated the failure of Lee's army to recross the Potomac and *admitted, even if it did, it would only be to fall*

into the hands of troops they expected we would cross over on our pontoon bridges below Williamsport for the purpose."

"TIVOLI, June 30th, 1863.

"His Excellency, President LINCOLN.

"SIR:—You hesitate to abandon unimportant posts, in order to concentrate their garrisons around Lee, the papers say because it would not look well abroad to give up any ground we have won. Was such the Practical Strategy of Bonaparte in his most glorious campaign in Italy in 1796? When it was necessary to oppose Wurmser he abandoned the siege of Mantua, left his one hundred and forty siege guns in his works, marched to meet and beat the Austrians, and, then, when the armies of succor were disposed of, returned before Mantua and settled its fate. No great general, no sensible man, no man of average judgment, hesitates to sacrifice a lesser good to secure a greater. Great generals look to ends and weigh means only in their relation to the attainment of great ends.

"If chronic lethargy, or rather apparent chronic lethargy of conception can be shaken off, Lee is between the upper and nether mill-stone, provided the concentration of troops affords sufficient power to the machinery to grind him to atoms there.

"Your Excellency may consider this letter as of even less importance than the offer I once made you of good troops, and subsequently of a good officer, W——— P. W.———; but history and eternity will hold you responsible for the partial or entire ruin of the North, when we offered you our blood, and our children, and our means without (I am speaking of the people, not politicians) stint or selfish thoughts of ourselves.

"Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

[Signed,] "J. WATTS DE PEYSTER."

Napoleon would not have lost his empire in 1813, and his throne in 1814, if he had not left behind so many veterans in distant fortresses. When, at length, he recognized his folly and tried to break out in order to draw them to him, as at Craone and Laon, and unite his forces, it was too late. The allies had concentrated their armies for an advance on Paris, that was taken, and all was over.

To take an example from a far distant land and times, the Mantchus, or Mongols, would not have conquered China if, in the beginning, the Chinese generals had not frittered away the troops at their disposal in small detachments, "and if the general, a man of ability in chief command, had not been hampered by obstacles which intriguers at Pekin put in his way."—Page 38, "The Long White Mountain; or, a Journey in Manchuria." H. E. M. James. London, 1888. (New York Society Library.) Exactly the case with England during the American Revolution.

Page xxviii., Note (23).—"I have before remarked, that from the advent of Father Mermet as missionary here, in the year 1710 or 1711, for nearly half

a century, there were no important events connected with the history of our 'Post' but a continued succession of commandants and missionaries. I should, however, fail in a very important part of our history, were I not to notice during that period, the *commander after whom our town is named*, FRANCOIS MORGAN DE VINSENNE. "*Vinsénne*" (*for so he spelled his name*), was an officer in the service of the King of France, and serving in Canada probably as early as 1720, in the reglment "de Carignan." At any rate, as we are informed, he was engaged in some service with another officer on the Lakes towards Sault St. Marie, for the Governor of Canada, M. de Vaudrieul, in 1725. At what time he took possession here is not exactly known; probably somewhere about the year 1732. There is nothing on our records to show, but an act of sale made by him and Madame Vinsenne, the daughter of Monsieur Philip Longprie, of Kaskaskia, and recorded there. The act of sale, dated 5th January, 1735, styles him "an officer of the troops of the King," and 'commandant au poste du Ouabache' [Wabash], the same deed expressing that Madame Vinsenne was absent at the Post. Her signature being necessary to the deed, she sent her mark, or cross, which is testified to as hers, 'X, the mark of Madame Vinsenne,' and showing that the good lady was not very far advanced in the rudiments, though her husband was commandant, and her father the wealthiest citizen of Kaskaskia. The will of Monsieur Longprie, his father-in-law, dated 10th of March, 1735, gives to him, among other things, 408 lbs. of pork, which he wishes 'kept safe until the arrival of Mons. Vinsenne,' who was then at the Post. There are other documents there signed by him as a witness, in 1733–34; among them one of a receipt for 100 pistoles, received from his father-in-law, on his marriage. From all these proofs, I think it evident that he was here previous to 1733, and left with his command, on an expedition against the Chicasaws, in 1736, by orders from his superior officer at New Orleans, 'Monsieur d'Artagette,' commandant for the King in Illinois, and in which expedition, according to 'Charlevoix,' M. St. Vinsenne was killed. But as the facts are not generally known, I quote his words among the last of his volume: 'We have just received very bad news from Louisiana, and our war with the Chickasaws. The French have been defeated; among the slain is Monsieur de Vinsenne, who ceased not until his last breath to exhort the men to behave worthy of their religion and their country. Thus perished this hero and gallant officer, *after whom our town is named.*'

"We may well be proud of its origin. On looking at the register of the [Roman] Catholic church, it will be found, that the change of name from VINSENNE to VINCENNES, its present appellation, was made as early as 1749. Why or wherefore, I do not know. I wish the original orthography had been observed, and the name spelled after its founder, with the *s* instead of the *c*, as it should be."—Extract from the Colonial History of Vincennes, by Judge LAW, pages 18, 19 and 20 (8vo, Vincennes, 1858).

"The news of this mishap [the capture of Vincennes by Clark] caused

some excitement in Detroit, and Hamilton began preparations for raising a force to reconquer the country. He finally set out early in October [1778], and *Major* DE PEYSTER, commanding at Mackinaw, sent out Langlade to go to the head of Lake Michigan and rouse up the Indians."*—Page 174, "Outlines of the Political History of Michigan." By James V. Campbell. Detroit, 1876.

"Because of their natural antipathy to the English, and of the attitude of the mother country, the French generally favored the Americans, aiding them materially, in some instances by conveying information; others were bribed or threatened into putting on the British uniform. Their influence over the Indians was such that their presence was a necessity. Colonel de Peyster says, in one of his letters to General Haldimand, 'Give me leave to assure your Excellency that *nothing can be effected from the Indians without troops to head them.*" (FARMER'S "Detroit," 244.) ☞ This cannot mean French militia or volunteers, but British troops. If British troops, Farmer's application and context are not clear, unless he refers, as above, to Langlade.

Page xxviii., Note (24).—See BUTTERFIELD'S "Washington-Irvine Correspondence," pages 55, 56; and, again, 228–232, Text and Notes.

Page xxv., Note (25). MORAVIANS, Indians, at Sandusky.—The shocking atrocities committed upon these unfortunates by the Americans, and the philanthropy displayed towards them by Colonel de Peyster, has been sufficiently dwelt upon in various places on previous pages. The farther remark may be justified, however, that it is only one of the very many instances of the savageries committed on Indians by Americans, while these latter are everlastingly citing (as if their own blood-stained hands were perfectly clean) the barbarities of the Indians in the British service, which were almost always due to the example set them by the colonial whites, whereas, the British officers and officials, with, undoubtedly, some exceptions, were always endeavoring to restrain their wild allies and enforce upon them the necessity of *humanity*. Witness the letters of Colonel de Peyster, General Haldimand, and others. (Oneota, 391: B. C. E. S. 38, text and note.)

The atrocities of the whites began with the settlement of the pious (*sic*)

* It has been conceded that if this expedition had succeeded, it would have given to the British such a preponderance in the Northwest—that is the present States of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois, and beyond—that the boundary line at the peace would have been the Ohio river, and not at the Lakes. That it failed was no fault of Colonel de Peyster, but the utter want of trustworthiness of the Indians for anything like a systematic or protracted campaign. Their insubordination was the sole cause of the failure of St. Leger and Sir John Johnson, in 1777, as exactly as now. Once in once in a while, a great captain rises up among them like Pontiac or Tecumseh, but they inevitably fail or fall in the end through the treachery of their own race. Jealousy and greed among subordinate chiefs neutralize the prudence and power of the wiser leader. The most remarkable example of this is the refusal of the Indian Council to listen to the counsels of Little Turtle, which, had they been hearkened to, would most likely have led to the failure of Wayne, in 1794, if not to the extent of the catastrophe of St. Clair, in 1791, or the defeats of Harmer, in 1790.

Puritans, and have increased and not ceased. In "John Heckewelder's Journey to the Wabash, in 1792," in the *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 1888, there are again instances of American brutality. This was evinced not only towards the Indians, but those who sympathized with them. "The Indians preferred the British or Spaniards in Louisiana." The latter preference is about the hardest condemnation of the Americans.

"Not long before the Revolution, David Zeisberger, an eminent Moravian missionary, with Heckewaelder and some others, founded missions on the Muskingum, at Schœnbrunn, Lichtenau and Gnadenhutten, and the converts, particularly among the Delawares, were numerous. Colonel Alexander McKee, Matthew Elliott and Simon Girty made repeated attempts to induce these Indians to join the British and fight against the Americans, but without success. The Detroit Hurons were no more successful in their efforts to persuade or frighten them, although the Delaware chiefs were wavering. The English agents persuaded Governor Hamilton that the missionaries were acting as spies in the American interest, and he became very much incensed, and made threats, which the emissaries used to influence the chiefs against them. One of the chiefs, *Captain* Pipe, was at last cajoled into declaring for the English, and the tribe became divided. When de Peyster was in command, Elliott persuaded him, by representations that Captain Pipe had denounced the missionaries, to send a force under Elliott to capture them and bring them in. After much suffering they reached Sandusky, whence Captain Pipe was to bring them to Detroit. During this whole journey they complained especially of the affronts and injuries received from Simon Girty. Pipe being on a drunken frolic, the missionaries started for Detroit ahead of him, on the 25th of October, 1781. The winter was early, and the country through the Black Swamp, and around the head of the lake, was nearly impassable; but, after much labor and exposure, they reached Detroit.

"Their reception by de Peyster was very ungracious [which is entirely contradicted by Heckewaelder, who emphasises '*the noble and generous character of the British officer*,' '*an honour to the British name.*'—'Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.' Vol. XII., p. 136, and elsewhere]—and he put off their hearing for several days. They were kindly sheltered by Mr. Tybout, a French inhabitant, and received attention and courtesies from others. On the 9th of November, they were confronted with Captain Pipe before the commandant, when the chief expressed himself very bitterly concerning the manner in which he had been urged on by the English to join them, and completely denied all the stories against the missionaries, who had studiously avoided any conduct which could favor either side, and had endeavored to preserve the Indians from hostilities. [They did, however, favor the Americans, and furnished them with the most valuable information they received as to the British plans and movements.] *De Peyster was finally satisfied, and thereafter was very kindly disposed, and aided them liberally.* Having returned to Sandusky, they were subjected to renewed threats and indignities from Girty. De Peyster sent word to bring them back to Detroit, but *to treat them kindly;* and, in April, 1782, they came back under escort. The Commandant told them he had taken this course for their safety, and offered to give them means of returning to the central mission, at Bethlehem, or to allow them to remain.

"They decided to remain, if they and their flock could settle near Detroit. By arrangement with the Chippewas, dwelling on the Clinton (then known as the Huron River), about twenty miles Northeast of Detroit, they fixed their colony near the mouth of that stream, a few miles from Lake St. Clair. *De Peyster contributed such outfit as they needed of utensils and provisions, with some horses and cattle, his estimable lady also adding other useful presents.* The Church of England "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" sent them a draft for £100, which was a very timely gift. On the 21st of July, 1782, Zeisberger and Jungman (married missionaries) with their families, and Edwards and Jung (unmarried missionaries), with some white families, including

that of Richard Connor, and several Indian converts, reached their new refuge, and solemnly in prayer consecrated it to the service of the Lord, under the name of Gnadenhutten, in memory of their old home on the Muskingum. It was usually called New Gnadenhutten. In August they had completed a village, consisting of a street of blockhouses with substantial outbuildings. DE PEYSTER (now Colonel) *was an active friend*, and Governor-General Haldimand also befriended them. On the 5th of November, 1782, they opened their new church. In 1783 the sugar crop was large, and the people, white and red, were enabled, by their hunting and manufacture of wooden wares, to keep themselves supplied with all they needed. On receiving news of the peace, which reached them in May, they endeavored to gather in from Ohio more of their Indians, and succeeded quite well in doing so.

"By a mistake in the kind of corn which they had planted, they lost that crop by early frosts. The next winter, of 1783-1784, was one of the severest on record. The ice on Lake St. Clair, a mile from shore, was three feet two inches thick, and the snow five feet deep. The winter of 1874-1875 resembled it more closely than any year within living memory. The deep snow interfered with hunting, and the ice with fishing. The winter was a trying one, but they succeeded in getting a large quantity of venison from a herd that strayed into the neighborhood, and with the surplus of this they purchased corn. In the spring they made sugar, and caught an abundance of fish, and, when the snow melted, gathered quantities of cranberries. Detroit furnished a ready market for all they could spare.

"A straight road had been run for their accommodation from Tremble's mill, on Tremble's (now Connor's) Creek, to the Moravian village, thus very much shortening the otherwise long and round-about lake shore road. *This was the first inland road made in Michigan.*

"In May, 1784, they came to Detroit to bid farewell to Colonel de Peyster, who was about departing, and who commended them to Governor Hay (Hamilton's companion), who had just been sent out to take charge of the post. Hay had recently been in England, where the case of the missionaries had received attention, and he had been directed to encourage them."—"Outlines on the Political History of Michigan," By James V. Campbell. Detroit, 1876. Pages 182-186.

Page xxx., Note (26).—"COOSHOCKING DELAWARES" (in the present Coshocton county, in the centre of Ohio), were the Moravian Christian Indians, whose innocent blood was poured out like water by the Americans, and whose reception by Colonel de Peyster won for him their esteem and gratitude.—See preceding Note (25).

Page xxx., Note (27).—*Colonel* GUY is *Colonel* GUY JOHNSON, British Superintendent (in chief) of Indian Affairs.—See Douglas Brymner's "Report on Canadian Archives," 1887, page 89, 22d October, 1781, and communications following. (His home, Guy Park, near Amsterdam, N. Y.)

Page xxxii., Note (28). GLAISE.—AUGLAIZE, a river of Ohio, rises in the northwest central part of the State, and flows into the Maumee River at Defiance, capital of Defiance county, Ohio, 162 miles northwest of Columbus. It is navigable for keel-boats to Wapahkonetta, capital of Auglaize county. The largest affluents of this river are Blanchard's Fork and Ottawa River.

AUGLAIZE.—A county in the western part of Ohio, contains 399 square miles. It is drained by the head-streams of the AUGLAIZE and St. Mary's Rivers, from the former of which its name is derived.

AUGLAIZE.—A township of Allen county, Ohio.

AUGLAIZE.—A township of Paulding county, Ohio. AUGLAIZE.—A post office of Van Wert county, Ohio. (See RUTTENBER'S "Indian Tribes," &c., 292.)

Page xxxii., Note (29).—Cœur-de-Corps is a miscopy for *Cœur-de-Cerf*, literally *Deer's heart* (Douglas Brymner, 22, 5, 88). They were a family of the Twigtees, or *Touétés* in the Wabash Valley (see TWIGHTWIES on Map). It does not occur in Schoolcraft's elaborate (?) report, nor are the *Lake Indians* (see first ¶, page 3, *supra*) specified there. The Cœur-de-Cerfs do not appear as mentioned separately in a meeting of the Nations held at Detroit, 14th June, 1782 (being merged in the general name Miamis)—a meeting apparently preparatory to the expedition under De (Du) Quindre and Chevallier.—Douglas Brymner, 22 and 23, 5, 88.

Page xxxii., Note (30).—The postscript to Colonel de Peyster's letter, 11th June, 1782, "Mr. Du Dindre, Mr. Le Clive and Chevallier will join you with the Cœur De Corps (30) Indians," should read: "Mr. Du Quindre, Mr. Le Clerc and [Louis] Chevallier will join you with the Cœur de Cerf Indians." The individuals mentioned were all connected in one capacity or another with the British Indian Department, as agents, &c.

Page xxxiii., Note (28*b*). *Mr.* BEAUBIN.—A trader. He was also a lieutenant in Major John Hay's battalion (six companies) of Detroit militia, and often employed as an Indian agent among the Miamis.—See "Michigan Pioneer Collections." Index. Vols. I., III., VII., IX.

Page xxxiii., Note (29*b*). "RAPIDS OF THE MIAMIS."—This locality should be ever held as most memorable for the American victory over the Northwestern or Lake Indians; won by Major-General Anthony Wayne, 20th August, 1794. In many respects it was the most decisive victory on this continent. It gave peace to the vast Northwest territory, and determined the whole future of the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi. The Indians sued for peace, and were terrified into keeping it. It may be said to have established Washington's second administration; it completely changed the British policy and pretensions in connection with the United States frontier to the Northwest; and it clinched, so to speak, the question of American independence. And, yet, strange to say, if the advice of the Indian chief, Little Turtle (Mishikinakwa), (see Drake's "Book of the Indians." Book V., chap. 4, page 76) had been taken, there is little doubt Wayne might not have met with better success than his predecessors. For his discreet counsels Little Turtle was accused of cowardice; the other chiefs concluded to accept battle on comparatively open ground; and were completely defeated.

Page xxiv., Note (30*b*).—This is but a corroboration of remarks at Note (12), &c.

Page xxxiv., Note (31).—SANGUINA is one of the various spellings of Saginaw Bay, River and settlements which, on the Map furnished herewith, is spelled Saguinam. (The Documentary History of New York, 1, 213, states that "the country between Lakes Erie and Huron is thus called 'Saguinan.'") The Utawas (Ottawas) had a town or village near the locality of the present Saginaw city.

Page xxxiv., Note (32).—*Captain* LA MOTHE was with Governor Hamilton when he was captured at Vincennes, and was at first, like his superior, very severely treated. After his release he held the rank of captain under the Canadian Indian department.—See "Michigan Pioneer Collections," "Langlade Papers," "Wisconsin Historical Collections," Vol. VIII.

Page xxxvi., Note (33), "MORAVIANS."—Sufficiently covered by previous notes (25), (26), &c.

Page xxxvii., Note (34).—Pipestown was at the Delaware Village on the Tyonochtee, an affluent of the Sandusky River, flowing principally through Wyandot county, Ohio.—See Butterfield's "Crawford's Campaign against Sandusky," pages 168, &c., text and notes; "Events in Indian History." First part. Chapters xv. and xvi.; "Drake's Book of the Indians."—Captain Pipe was the most conspicuous war captain and half-king among the Delawares, and, in particular, chief of the Wolf or Monsey tribe.

Page xxxvii., Note (35). "ARUNDEL'S."—Name of a trader.

Pages xxxviii., Note (36); xxxix., Note (37); xl., Note (38). STANDING STONE VILLAGE, same as ROCHER DE BOUT.—See Note (19).

Page xl., Note (39). "WABASHAAS."—This may either refer to WABASHAW, chief king of the Sioux (see "Poem," pages 38 and 39, *supra*), or to the mixed tribes along the Wabash River, which partly constitutes the boundary between Indiana and Illinois. This term (Wabashees) does not appear to be applied as a tribal title in any other place.

Page xlii., Note (40). "*A little* SNOW."—This is a marine term, now obsolete, for a sea-going vessel. In some respects it corresponds with what would now be styled a Bark, or Barque. According to William Falconer's "Universal Dictionary of the Marine," London, 1871, SNOW, *senau*, is generally the largest of all two-masted vessels employed by Europeans, and the most convenient for navigation. The sails and rigging on the main-mast and foremast of a Snow are exactly similar to those on the same masts in a Ship; only that there is a small mast behind the mainmast of the former, which carries a sail nearly resembling the *mizzen* of a Ship. The foot of this mast is fixed in a block of wood on the quarter-deck abaft the main-mast; and the head of it is attached to the after-part of the main-*top*. The sail, which is called the try-sail, is extended from its mast towards the stern of the vessel. When the *sloops* of war are rigged as snows, they are furnished with a *horse*, which answers the purpose of a try-sail-mast, the fore-part of the sail being attached by rings to the said *horse* (which is explained under its proper head in same volume), in different parts of its height.

Page xlii., Note (41). Lady Johnson.—This was the lovely Polly Watts, youngest daughter of Honourable John Watts, senior, President of the King's Council of the Province of New York, and Ann de Lancey. Even after middle age her portrait, when taken by the celebrated Memin, limner and engraver, displays full evidence of her intelligent attractiveness. Her face

indicated qualities which she eminently possessed—energy, decision and courage. She was bitterly treated by the American Patriots, so styled, and was held as a hostage, in the hopes that thereby the influence and efforts of her husband would be completely paralyzed. The properties of her father and of her husband were both confiscated. In the former case, this action of the Rebels was the more unjustifiable in that Mr. Watts had been in England for over a year before the Declaration of Independence. He died 20th January, 1794, in exile, in Wales, in straitened circumstances, having sacrificed opulence at home to principle. He was buried in St. James Church, Piccadilly, London. The charge that he had left the country, New York, in going to England, was as much a falsehood as if to claim that a citizen of any one of the Atlantic States had forfeited his rights and committed treason by taking a trip to California. In 1775, New York and the British Islands were as exactly one and the same country as New York and New Mexico are at this date. By her marriage with Honorable Archibald Kennedy, Ann, eldest sister of Lady Johnson, became Countess of Cassilis, and her son first Marquis of Ailsa. A brother, Stephen Watts, "a charming youth," was second in command to his brother-in-law, Sir John, at the battle of Oriskany, and desperately and repeatedly wounded there.

NOTE.—In August, 1777, Col. Peter Wagoner, of the county of Montgomery, held a command under General Herkimer and Col. Frederick Visscher in the battle for the relief of Fort Stanwix. After the first detachment of our militia were checked and their commander severely wounded, it was found necessary to change the plan of action. Accordingly our forces were ordered to fall back and to form a circle divided by a deep bushy ravine, to prevent the savages from taking advantage of the foggy weather to attack them in the rear. The garrison of the fort, by a previous understanding, were to have sallied out, and to have thereby created a diversion in favor of the relieving party upon hearing the first shot, but the distance from the fort, of the action, rendered it impossible for the garrison to hear the firing, and the enemy rightly supposing that General Herkimer's object was to relieve the fort, sent a detachment around to our [American, Rebel] rear. * * The enemy [Loyalists] seeing their design frustrated by the determination of their prisoner, and seeing their first three officers, Major WATTS [severely wounded], Captain Hare killed, and Lieutenant Shingleton wounded, they turned, * * soon retreated. Their camp, baggage, provisions, with five colors [?], were taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Willett with a party of 200 from the fort, *who had accidentally discovered through their spies* the DEFENCELESS STATE *of the enemy's camp*. Major Watts was wounded through the leg by a ball, and in the neck by a thrust from a bayonet, which passed through back of the windpipe and occasioned such an effusion of blood as to induce not only him, but his captors, to suppose (after leading him two or three miles) that he must die in consequence. He begged his captors

to kill him, they refused and left him by the side of a stream under the shade of a bridge, where he was found two days subsequently covered with fly-blows, but still alive. * * The sash taken from him is still in possession of the Sanders family.—Extract from "A Legacy of Historical Gleanings," compiled by Mrs. C. V. R. BONNEY, Vol. I., pages 69, 70 (8vo, Albany, 1875).

The narrative of the disgraceful treatment of Lady Johnson by the Americans was duly chronicled in a publication entitled, "Adventures of a Lady in the War of Independence in America." Workington: P. D. Lambe, Printer, "*Solway Pilot*" Office. 1874.

It is very curious, but such is the fact, that this story of an American lady, exile and refugee should have been written by the wife of Colonel Charles Christopher Johnson, B. A., son of Sir John, in the mansion of her son-in-law, Henry Curwen, Esquire, in Workington Hall, the fine castellated residence of the Curwen family, on a wooded height above the port of the same name, on the Irish Sea, at the mouth of the Derwent, where a direct ancestor of the owner received Mary, Queen of Scots, another lady, exile and refugee, after her flight from the battlefield, fatal to her hopes, of Langside, in 1568.

Lady Mary Watts Johnson's story, also told in the editor's Introduction to Wm. L. Stone, Jr.'s "Sir John Johnson's Orderly Book," entitled "The Life and Misfortunes of Sir John Johnson," already cited in Note (4), p. cxi.

Page xliii., Note (42).—"BUTLER'S OFFICERS" belonged to a famous organization of Loyalists, of which two companies, under Captain Caldwell, were with Colonel de Peyster at Detroit. (See W. Butterfield, in his "Crawford's Expedition against Sandusky." Speaking of Butler's Rangers, page 173, it says: "These troops were all mounted." At page 174, it again speaks of their "having to wait for their horses." At page 216, Note 4, they are mentioned as "Light Dragoons." At pages 228 and 234, as "British Light Cavalry.") Charles Fenno Hoffman, who took the utmost pains to collect every possible historical fact in detail for his Romance of the Mohawk "Greyslaer," speaks of mounted riflemen on both sides (?) in the battle of Oriskany. As a detachment of Butler's Rangers were in that fight, it is not unlikely that they, as well as their brethren at the West, were furnished where possible with horses; although on certain expeditions, when mounted troops could not act effectively, the animals may have been left behind.

Page xliv., Note (43).—History, said that arch-villain Napoleon, is nothing more than a narrative, true or false, generally accepted as fact; and, in the palming off of lies as truths, he was an adept. To augment the unpopularity of the Johnsons, they were always put forward as omnipresent, opposing the poor suffering Patriots (*sic*), who had, nevertheless, stolen their and other good men's goods. In Note (5), pages cxii.–cxiii., it is demonstrated from his letter, on page xliv., that Colonel Guy could not have been in the battle of 29th August, 1779, at Conewawah, or Chemung [Newtown or El-

mira]; neither was it possible Sir John Johnson could have been there. It escaped the editor's memory that, in Vol. VIII., Documents relating to the Colonial History, S. N. Y., p. 775, there is a letter of Colonel Guy Johnson to Lord George Germaine, which establishes the correctness of Notes (5), (8) and (10) *supra*. This letter is dated 5th September, 1779, and sets forth that Guy reached Quebec, from Halifax, 17th July; Montreal, 29th August, the very day of the battle of Chemung, above mentioned. On the 20th of September, Sullivan attained the farthest point of his *razzia*, and turned about (L. F. B. A. R., I, 278). In his letter to Lord George Germaine, 11th November, 1779, Colonel Guy Johnson shows how he went up the River St. Lawrence from Montreal, after 5th September, with 150 whites and Indians, which were augmented to 220 on his arrival at Carleton Island, "12 miles below the entrance of Lake Ontario," where Colonel Guy learned that Sullivan had retreated. Simultaneously Sir John Johnson was advancing with 500 men to the support of the Six Nations. It was proposed to rendezvous at Aserotus (Sodus Bay), 35 miles west of Oswego, but a violent gale traversed the plan, and when it could be carried out, it was too late. Long before the 3d of October, Sullivan was back at Sheoga (Theoga), Tioga, in Pennsylvania, and by the 8th his army was broken up, and troops sent to other points.

Page xlv., Note (44). "KADARAGARAS."—Miscopy, most likely, for *Gah-ta-ra-ke-ras*, now corrupted into Cattaraugus, a lake, creek and county in the State of New York, signifying, according to Barber and Gordon, *Stinking Shore, or Beach*, applied to Lake Erie, and thence extended over the adjacent country. Why the term "*stinking*," which Mr. Douglas Brymner says is an error, and ought to be "*brackish*," should be applied to a portion of Lake Michigan and Lake Erie, is inexplicable, and facts seem rather to justify the epithet *stinking*, which is not unlikely to be very applicable in summer, taking into consideration the filthy habits of the Indians. Cattaraugus Lake, in Java township, Genessee county, the source of the creek of the same name, which forms the southern boundary of Erie county, emptying into Lake Erie at Cattaraugus village, in the extremest northern point of Chautauque county, which village may be on the site of the *Kadaragara* of Colonel Guy Johnson. A portion of the Seneca tribe were, or are, located on a small reservation in Cattaraugus county, one mile in width, along the Alleghany river. The Indian village is called Tunesassah, at the mouth of Cold Spring Creek, in the township of Napoli. "In Munsell's Indian Treatises there is a letter from Brant and other Indians, to the Governor of New York, dated 30th July, 1789, in which one chief signs himself as Tayokaraghsere, Chief of *Cadaragus*," Could this be old *Cataraqui*, or Fort Frontenac, now known as Kingston, in Upper Canada?"

Page xlvii., Note (45).—"A Rebel blockhouse." From such an indefinite reference it is very difficult to indicate the exact locality. This may either refer to the destruction of the castle, church and dwellings of the

Oneidas, traitors to a compact of centuries, or to the destruction of the settlement and mills at Little Falls; also the devastation of the Canajoharie settlements and the hamlet at Fort Plain, which battle occurred in August, 1780 (LOSSING's F. B. A. R., 1, 278–9).

W. L. STONE, *Senior*, states, in his "Life of Brant," 11, 55. *, that, although "the fact is well known of the ruin of the Oneidas, to punish their secession of 1779, and although an important event in the border wars, the author (Stone) has not been able to obtain dates and particulars." The Oneidas were utterly ruined by this punishment. (See LOSSING's F. B. A. R., 1, 278, ¶ 2d, and elsewhere.) All this proves the inadequacy of Sullivan's raid, in 1779, which served rather as a violent stimulant than an effectual anodyne. The frontiers of New York were alive, in the spring and summer of 1780, with Indian invaders anxious to demonstrate that they had been *educated up to the pitch of the* "MALICE" which Sullivan, in 1779, boasted he felt, and did all he could to exhibit. This is no justification of the Indians, but it is an honest exhibit of "cause and effect."

Page xlvii., Note (46). Captain Brant.—To give any idea of the services of this Indian chief would occupy too much space. Therefore the reader is referred to William L. Stone, Senior's "Life of JOSEPH BRANT (*Thayendanegea*, 'The Band of the Tribe,' or 'Two Sticks (Zechariah (xi., 7) tied' or 'united'), including the Border Wars of the American Revolution, and Sketches of the Indian Campaigns of Generals Harmer, St. Clair and Wayne, and other matters connected with the Indian relations of the United States and Great Britain, from the Peace of 1783 to the Indian Peace of 1795." Two vols. New York: George Dearborn & Co., 38 Gold Street. 1838.

Page xlviii., Note (47). "COLONEL ETHAN ALLEN."—The real sentiments of this noted character and of his partisans or party in the New Hampshire Grants (now the State of Vermont), as regards their returning sense of loyalty to the Crown and disloyalty to the Thirteen Colonies, is one of the unsolved, and perhaps insoluble, problems of history. Whether they intended to dissolve all connection with their associates in rebellion—a double rebellion against the vested rights of the State of New York and of the Crown—or were simply toying with the Royal officials in Canada to avert punishment until success crowned the efforts of the Americans, has been asserted and denied in a variety of publications, so that it may be considered a moot question. A distinguished and close historical investigator examined into the subject, and came to the conclusion that, at best, Ethan Allen was "playing with fire" or "carrying water on both shoulders," if he had not actually given up the cause he had first embraced with so much fervor. Allen, in his Biographical Dictionary, says: "Sir H. Clinton wrote to Lord Germaine, February, 1781, 'There is every reason to suppose that Ethan Allen has quitted the Rebel cause.'"—LOSSING's F. B. A. R., 1, 168 (11 and 283).

Page xlviii., Note (48). "*Lord* G. GERM'E."—The Americans should

erect a monument in gratitude to this Englishman, appointed in 1775 to the American secretaryship—whose neglect and incapacity led to the surrender of Burgoyne, which resulted in the French alliance and eventual success. Lord Mahon says that he possessed "military knowledge and undoubted talent, which ill atoned to the government for his rash and violent temper." "Ignominious Sackville was tried by court-martial, cashiered, declared incapable of again serving his Majesty, George II., for his everlastingly disgraceful conduct at the battle of Minden, and, yet, under George III., he is found in the Ministry, holding an office which, at that period, was the most important in the British Administration." One good word must be said for him: he was true to his personal friends or favorites, and appreciated the merits of Cornwallis. He was originally known as Lord George Sackville. In 1771, he took the name of Germaine, to inherit an estate, and afterwards was raised to the peerage as Viscount Sackville. (Doc. Col. History N. Y., VIII., 648.)

Page xlix., Note (*A*). "SKIPPLES."—It proves the influence of the Hollanders, or Dutch, and German settlers in the Mohawk Valley, upon the popular language in those districts, when educated Englishmen used their agricultural terms in communicating with each other. Skipple is a provincialism for the German scheffel and Dutch scheepel, signifying a bushel. Nay, more, the Holland Dutch and Deutsch, proper, did not affect the language more than they affected, as a rule, Revolutionary ideas. It is true the prime movers in the Revolution, along the Mohawk, were New England settlers and English emigrants, also Scotch-Irish Protestants—not Roman Catholic Irish. The last were most loyal to the Crown at this period. Sir John inflicted thorough punishment on his persecutors at Oriskany and in his subsequent invasions. Few are aware to what an immense extent the American Revolution was engineered by natives of Great Britain and by foreigners, not only in counsel, but in arms.

Page xlix., Note (*B*). "HAMNICOL," miscopied for *Hannicol*.—Hans Nicol Herkimer was the Major-General who commanded the Americans, and was mortally wounded at Oriskany. He is almost altogether known as Nicholas Herkimer, but, in order to distinguish individuals among the Dutch settlers, it was not unusual to prefix to their own Christian names that of their father. Consequently, as General Herkimer's father was named Johannes (John), abbreviated by the Dutch into *Hans*, and as there were, doubtless, other Herkimers named Nicholas, he was most probably known to Sir John as Hans Nicol, that is Nicholas, the son of John. (N. Y. Col. Mss., VII., 720, (1)).

Colonel Frederic Vischer, "of Mohawk," succeeded to the command of the regiment of Mohawk Valley militia, of which Guy Johnson had previously been colonel, while the Crown officials still exercised jurisdiction. This regiment constituted the rear-guard of Herkimer's column, and in fulfillment of the General's prediction, that "those who boasted loudest of their courage would be the first to run on seeing the enemy," at the very first fire the rear-

guard fled and left their companions to their fate. The Indians pursued them, and they probably suffered more while running away, in proportion to their numbers, than if they had boldly stood their ground. Thus the Johnsons had some satisfaction any way and every way.

Page xlix., Note (*C*). "DEAR POLLY."—The lovely Polly (Mary) Watts, Lady (wife of Sir John) Johnson, Bart.

This letter, of 20th January, 1777, is very valuable, as furnishing the only trustworthy account of the movements of Sir John Johnson after his escape from the machinations of his enemies, who, with their usual truth and justice, have endeavored to fix the guilt of a breach of compact upon him. The treatment experienced by him and his wife was a piece of business which cannot be cleansed by any amount of Jesuitical whitewashing.—See Vol. I., chapter iv., page 71, and Notes (Edward F. de Lancey's Notes) xxv. and xxxiv.; also, Thomas Jones' "New York During the Revolution." New York, 1879.

Page l., Note (*D*). "*Captain* FORSTER."—(See Gordon's "History of the Revolution.") Vol. II., page 254. The capture of these cannon occurred 20th May, 1776, and was most creditable to Captain Forster, who, with forty of the Eighth, or King's Regiment, one hundred Canadians and five hundred Indians, took the fort at the Cèdres (Cedars), on the left bank of St. Lawrence River, 36 miles southwest of Montreal, garrisoned by the Americans, together with its whole garrison, and next day defeated and captured a detachment coming up to the relief of the invaders. Captain Forster took two majors, nine captains, twenty subalterns and four hundred and forty-three soldiers, besides forty-eight killed and wounded, and seven or eight carried off by the Indians. Oswegatchie (Ogdensburg), in St. Lawrence county, State of New York, at the mouth of the river of the same name, was a very old post, held by the British, which was one of six not given up for some time after the Treaty of 1783, which acknowledged the Independence of the Thirteen Colonies, and constituted one of the many causes which culminated in the War of 1812.—Charles J. Peterson's "War of 1812." Page 19.

Page li., Note (*E*).—"*Joseph*," is BRANT (Thayendenagea), chief of the Six Nations.

Page li., Note (*F*).—General "*Sir* WM. HOWE was superseded by General Sir Henry Clinton, 4th February, 1778, but did not actually turn over his command to the latter until in May, 1778.

Page li., Note (*G*).—For the cruelties to the Loyalists, the judicial murdering, torturing and ruin of them, See Thomas Jones' "History of New York During the Revolution." This gentleman's charges can be substantiated in many cases by the clearest evidence of other writers who can scarcely be styled, even by rampant patriotism (*sic*), as Tory witnesses or advocates.

Page li., Postscript.—The "Polly" mentioned *here* is Mary Johnson, youngest daughter of Sir William, wife of Colonel Guy Johnson.

Page lii., Note (*H*). "York."—This word might lead to error. Sir John

refers to the Province or Colony of New York, against which an inroad was intended. His regiment was raised to operate all along the whole frontier, from Lake Champlain to Fort Niagara, and a portion of it was at Wyoming but, although often falsely so stated, Sir John was not with it, and had nothing to do with that operation, because, as is apparent from this letter, Sir John was at Quebec 2d July, 1778, and on that very day the British expedition was at Wyoming, 475 miles (air-line), and at least 23 days' marches distant.

Page lii., Note (*I*).—"DEER ISLAND," or *Cataraqui* (General Horatio Rogers, in his note on "Hadden's Orderly Book," on page 322), "is an island about twelve miles below the entrance of Lake Ontario, having Grand Isle on one side, from which it is divided by a channel of something less than a mile, and the south continent, on the other, at the distance of one mile and a quarter from it. This island had gone for some time by the name of DEER Island, having been mistaken for that called by the French Isle aux Chevreuils which is found to be higher up, and the name of Carleton's Island is now given to this in question. Very favorable ground for fortifying, commanding a commodious and safe harbor, which this Island possesses at the upper end of it, looking towards the Lake, induced the gentlemen sent on this service to fix upon this spot, where a fort is begun and barracks are building for the troops, and the place will be in a tolerable state of defence and habitation by the winter" of 1778.

Page lii., Note (*J*).—*Colonel* DANIEL CLAUS, before the Revolution, lived at Johnstown, on the Mohawk River, then in Tryon county, now capital of Fulton county, New York.

Page lii., fifth line from bottom.—*Captain* [afterwards Major Stephen] WATTS was brother of Lady *Mary* Watts Johnson. He led the advance of the British and distinguished himself greatly in the battle of Oriskany. The following extract from a thoroughly Rebel book admits the critical condition in which he was abandoned. He was rescued by Indians.—See NOTE, page cxxxv.

Page liv., Note (*K*). "*My* REGIMENT."—No records can be discovered showing that Sir John's regiment was ever known [officially?] by any name but Royal New York Regiment. "It was reduced at the end of the Revolutionary War, 1783–1784, and was not numbered, either in the British army nor in the Provincial corps."—DOUGLAS BRYMNER, 14, 5, 88.) When Sir John Johnson set himself free from the trap set for him by Schuyler, and reached Canada, he at once applied to be permitted to raise a regiment from the Royal refugees. (See General Horatio Rogers' "Hadden's Journal and Orderly Books," page 202, &c., Note.) Sir John was at once appointed colonel in the British service. His regiment, or corps, was divided into two battalions, and was styled the *Royal Regiment of New York*, also as the *Queen's Loyal Americans*. It was also popularly known as *Johnson's Royal Greens*. The title "*Greens*" should not be restricted, however, because at first almost all the Loyal corps wore a *green* uniform, which,

in almost every case, was afterwards changed to *red*. It does not appear from the British Army List that this regiment was ever recognized as a regular organization. In 1782 Sir John was brigadier-general. "On the 14th of March, 1782, Sir John was appointed 'commissioner, superintendent-general and inspector-general of the Six Nations of Indians and their confederates and of all the Indian nations inhabiting the Province of Quebec and the Frontiers,' a position he held a number of years, though the name of the office was afterwards abbreviated to 'inspector-general and superintendent-general of Indian affairs throughout America.' * * * At the close of the Revolution he settled in Canada, where he received grants of land from the Crown, and where, in addition to other offices held by him, he was colonel of the six battalions of the militia of the Eastern townships of Lower Canada, and a member of the Legislative Council."—See "Sir John Johnson, the first American-born Baronet. An Address delivered before the New York Historical Society at its Annual Meeting, Tuesday, January 6th, 1880." By Major-General John Watts de Peyster. With two appendices of proofs; the whole constituting an 8vo of sixty pages brevier, *not* leaded.

Page liv., Note (*L*).—"The date of the [Sir John Johnson's] letter, 1st Nov., 1781," writes Hon. Douglas Brymner, Archivist, Dominion of Canada, 1st May, 1888, "is ISLE O BIC, not *Isle O Bie*. The original name of this locality was LE BIC; writing of it the French said: '*J'ai été* AU *Bic*;'—if writing the name as an island, it is *L'ile* DU *Bic*. In a French log book here [Ottawa], of 1712, the writer calls it '*Lille du Bicq*,' and in a sketch showing what sailors call the *Land-fall*, it is marked *Le Bic*. This is the French practice to this day, *Ile du Bic* or *Le Bic*, so that the only explanation I can suggest is that Sir John got mixed up, and intending to write correctly Isle au Bic (for Isle *du* Bic) he wrote it O [according to sound instead of spelling]. The letter is very distinctly written, and yet a very close examination, aided by the knowledge that it is wrong, could convert the O into LE, le Bic, but this is only a strained interpretation of the letter, although I cannot find in any of Sir John's letters an O made as this is."

This island of BIC, an island N. E. of a group styled Biquettes, is opposite or N. E. of the Siegneurie *Le Bic*, on the south side of the river or gulf of St. Lawrence, about 160 miles below Quebec. Again, 7, 5, 88, Mr. Douglas Brymner writes: "*Bic* is a small island on the south side of the St. Lawrence, off Rimousky, and is included in that county. It is, I should think, somewhere about sixty miles (or thereabouts) below Riviere du Loup *en bas*, not to be confounded with the other, which is between Montreal and Quebec, and not far from Three Rivers (Riviere du Loup *en haut*). BIC during the Revolutionary War was maintained as a station for pilots, who there awaited the arrival of convoys, &c., and was a calling place for the ships of war to which despatches were sent." It would seem that in compound French words, like *Au Bic*, the *Au* was commonly written by Anglo-Americans, phonetically, as Sir John did in this letter. For instance, Lieu-

tenant Boyer, in his "Journal of Wayne's Campaign" of 1794, writes throughout O-*glaise* for A-*uglaise*.

Page liv., Note (*M*).—NAVAL ACTION between the Dutch and English. Also referred to in Colonel A. S. de Peyster's letter of 6th February, 1782.

"This was as hard a battle as was ever fought between the fleets of the two most determined seamen of Europe. A small squadron had been at length fitted out [by the Dutch] in 1782, which was destined, under the command of Admiral Cornelius Zoutmann and Commodore Kinsbergen, to convoy a fleet of seventy-two merchant-vessels bound for the Baltic. The equipment of the fleet proceeded so slowly that a delay of three months intervened before the ships could sail, and even then they were in no very good condition.

"An English fleet under Hyde Parker was lying off Elsinore, to attack the Dutch; the English sailed into the Cattegat to meet them, and the two fleets met on the 5th of August [1782] in the neighborhood of a sand-bank called the Doggerbank. This battle with the Dutch, among whose fleet there was also an American ship-of-war of extraordinary length and an uncommon build, was *the most severe which was fought at sea in the course of the war.* The Dutch did not, indeed, gain a victory, but were still much encouraged by the result of this engagement, for all the cities and towns illuminated, and the newspapers of all the Seven Provinces boasted that the times of the Opdams and the De Ruyters were not yet quite gone. The ships did not begin to fire until *within pistol-shot* of each other; the firing was continued above three hours with extraordinary violence and perseverance on both sides, until neither fleet was in a condition to continue the fight. The only advantages which the English gained were that the Dutch merchant-vessels were compelled to return to the Texel along with the ships-of-war, and that a Dutch ship of the line sunk before reaching the harbor. The three commanders of the Dutch fleet, Cornelius Zoutmann, Kinsbergen and Van Braam, were honored and praised by the people in Holland as if they had gained a complete victory, and the government took pains to distinguish in every possible way the heroes whom the people almost worshipped; they complained, notwithstanding, that the fitting out of their ships, as well as the ships themselves, had been bad. It must be confessed, also, that the orders given by the government of the Hereditary Stadtholder to the commanders by land and sea, who received their orders immediately from him, were very equivocal. The rage that inspired the combatants at the *Doggerbank* may be partly judged from the fact that many of the English ships fired upwards of two thousand five hundred shots during the engagement.

"Sir Hyde Parker, who was received in England with the same signs of rejoicing as had been shown on the arrival of Cornelius Zoutmann in Holland, was as little satisfied with the English government and admiralty as his opponent was with that of the Dutch. * * * He [George III.] himself, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, went to the place where the admiral

was lying with his ships; he visited him on board of his vessel, but did not find him as much inclined to be pleased by this honor as commanders, whether by sea or land, generally are.

"This scene, which is unique in English history, and may be classed with the speech of the Lord-Mayor Beckford to the King, on the occasion of the solemn audience, took place on board the *Fortitude*. This vessel, as well as the rest, was lying at the Nore to be repaired; the King sailed down the Thames, therefore, to visit the admiral on board his ship. The old sailor answered the compliments of the King with the words: 'He wished His Majesty better ships and younger seamen; for himself, he was too old for service.' He took his leave immediately afterwards."—Schlosser's "History of the Eighteenth Century." Volume V., pages 270, 271.

Page lix., Note (*N*). "*Major* GRAY."—The editor confounded this Major Gray with the son (likewise a field-officer B. A.) of the celebrated British general, Grey, whose eldest son was afterwards Prime Minister. The general was known as "*No-flint* GREY," because he always saw that the men took out their flints before making an attack, so that they would be compelled to rely upon their bayonets alone, which they did most effectually. He it was who surprised Wayne at Paoli Tavern, 20th September, 1777, and Baylor's cavalry at Hackensack, or Tapaan, 28th September, 1778, where he did his business thoroughly. The Americans howled very loudly over it, as if war did not mean killing. He also distinguished himself in other bold and telling expeditions. He was a very thorough soldier, and remarkably enterprising for a professional, because professional generals are, as a rule, content with simply keeping up to the limits of routine, and, when that duty is discharged, "laying on their oars," even when a little more exertion would achieve a startling success, if not a decided one. Witness Howe, after his victory at Brooklyn, 27th August, 1776, and at the Brandywine, 11th September, 1777; Clinton, on the Hudson, in October, 1777; and so on to the end, disastrous to Loyal men. Had Howe followed up his victories, there would have been an end of Washington's armies then and there. Had Clinton gone to Albany, as he could have done with facility, Burgoyne would have been preserved, and no French alliance occurred to save the cause of the Colonies. Men like Cornwallis and Grey were kept in subordinate roles, or else so hampered as to be themselves paralyzed, or their work or successes neutralized. The operations of Gray have been treated at length in the Editor's Centennial articles, published at the appropriate dates in the New York *Evening Mail*.

"This GRAY was a major in the King's Royal Regiment of New York, and, in one of his letters, says that for thirty years he had been in the army, but in what capacity he does not say. There are numerous letters from him, all, however, on regimental business. At the time the Loyalists were settled, he applied for land, at Carillon (not to be confounded with the place of the same name on [outlet of Lake George into] Lake Champlain, near

Ticonderoga). This Carillon is on the Ottawa, and is the eastern end of the Grenville Canal, opposite Point Fortune. Apparently he did not get the grant asked for, as on the 2d of September, 1786, he, with others, signed an address to Lord Dorchester, congratulating him on his appointment to the office of Governor-General. The address is dated at New Johnstown, which name was changed to that of Cornwall in 1787 (between 60 and 70 miles west of Montreal). Major Gray's name is the first attached to the address, *prima facie* evidence that he occupied a leading position in the settlement. In the report for 1884 (Archives), p. xxvi., you will find his name among the list of magistrates appointed by Simcoe, after the formation of Upper Canada as a separate Province. He had, however, been a magistrate before this." (Douglas Brymner, Ottawa, 30, 7, 88.)

Page lix., Note (*O*).—*River* LA COLE, or la Colle, is a small stream which finds its way, flowing in a somewhat southeasterly direction from the west, into the foot or outlet of Lake Champlain, the head of the River Chambly. South River must be the Canadian Great R. du Sud, which flows westerly into the Chambly, just above the Narrows. For all these places see Map in "Documentary History of New York," vol. I., page 553. LA COLLE is a locality notorious in the military history of New York. Here, in the affair of La Colle Mill, 30th March, 1814 (Lossing's "War of 1812," 790, &c.), at first 200, and finally some hundreds of British compelled Wilkinson and his army, or division of 4000 men, to withdraw worsted. There had been another encounter, more discreditable to the Americans, on the La Colle, 20th September, 1813. (Lossing's "War of 1812," 639, &c.) There was a great deal of desultory fighting in this neighborhood. When militia Colonel de Salaberry drove back Wade Hampton, in 1813, and his division of 4500 to 5000 regulars, he had only about 300 Canadian Volunteers, Fencibles and Voltigeurs, and a few Abenaki Indians. His own gumption, however, was a host. He frightened off his assailants by bugle signals at a distance apart, backed by firing, as if the Americans had a large force in their front. De Salaberry's stratagem shows the instinctive soldier, but it is by no means original in one form or another; yet, strange to say, while almost invariably successful, such ruses are rarely resorted to, or, if practised, not recorded. It was as effectual at La Colle against Hampton as the rams' horns before Jericho, or as the trumpets and broken pitchers had previously been for Gideon against the invading Midianites. Rosecrans employed a stratagem in effect like de Salaberry, using watch-fires instead of trumpets, at Stone River, and Prince Eugene something similar after Oudenarde. It recalls the horns of the five postillions, who, blowing the points of war in the woods, actually sent to the right-about the Swedish division which invaded the Prussian Uckermark, in October, 1758, just as Hampton's was effectually foiled. The Swedes recrossed their border as did the Americans in 1813. There was a smart Frenchman who tried this trumpet trick equally decisively in Italy, which is cited in the French work on "Ruses and Stratagems of War,"

and the famous Swedish general, Torstenson, played the same little game successfully before his great victory of Janikau, in 1645.

Page lix., Note (*P*).—Massisomké may be Missiskom, and lies northwest of the bay of that name, and between it and the River Chambly. Almost all the places mentioned in this sentence are too well known to need particular mention, except that Chambly, St. Johns, Isle Aux Noix, above St. Johns, South river, la Cole and Caldwell's Manor or Foucault, are in Canada, and Massisomke (?) on the boundary line between New York and Canada. Mr. Douglas Brymner, however, says the Editor's copy of this letter is erroneous; that in the original it is MASSCOUCHE (which should be written *Mascouche*), about 24 miles from Montreal.

Pages lxi., lxii. and lxiii.—The letters of Sir Johnson on these pages show that the writer had a perfect conception of what was occurring militarily on the Lakes during the War of 1812–15, and his judgment is established by every author who is not so partial as to render his labors unworthy of consideration. As it would require a volume to make all the necessary revelations, the reader is referred to the work of the veteran soldier, General Cullum (hereinafter quoted, page cxlviii., Note (*T*), as well as to another, also mentioned, of which the Editor has never seen any copy except the one in his possession, which was purchased in Canada many years ago.

THE WAR OF 1812: | A | History of the War | between | Great Britain | and the | United States of America, | During the Years 1812, 1813 and 1814. | By G. AUCHINLECH, | TORONTO: | Published by W. C. Chewett & Co., 17 & 19 King Street East. | 1862.

Page lx., Note (*Q*). "*Captain* SCOTT."—Sir John Johnson must be mistaken about CAPTAIN SCOTT. His name does not appear among the commandants at Mackina (Michilimacinac) as furnished by Lieutenant Dwight H. Kelton, U. S. A., in his "Annals of Mackinaw." At the time Sir John wrote, 1787, Captain Daniel Robertson was in command, who was succeeded by Philip D. Fry, Ensign in the 8th (or King's) regiment, and he again by George Clowes, lieutenant in the same, or else there is a misprint in the dates given by Lieutenant Kelton.

Page lxi., Note (*R*).—SIR GEORGE PREVOST, *Bart.*, Governor-General of Canada, is said to have been an amiable man and capable of allaying political agitation, but he was certainly, to speak most generously, a very disappointing general. He was the eldest son of Major-general Augustine Prevost, who had distinguished himself in the Revolutionary War, and Sir George himself, at first, displayed a great deal of energy and owed his rapid rise apparently to his own merit, but in the War of 1812–15, nothing of these qualities are apparent. If Lossing is correct (War of 1812, 858 (1)), the father, Augustine Prevost, like Lieutenant-General Sir Frederic Haldimand, previously Governor-General of Canada, was a Swiss, a native of Geneva, and Sir George (created a Baronet in 1805) was not an Englishman, either by birth or blood. Like General Sheaffe, he was born in America; Sheaffe in Boston, Prevost in New York, 19th May, 1767, and his mother

was a Dutch woman. As a soldier he does no credit by his bravery to Switzerland, nor by his brains to New York. His horrible want of conduct at Plattsburg, in 1814, cost the British government at least two millions and a half of dollars, and himself loss of position, dishonor before the world and death shortly after, through anxiety, grief or chagrin. General Cust states that, on his return to England, Prevost "demanded a court-martial (2, 4, 308), before which he was to have been brought on charges at the instance of the Commodore, Sir James Yeo; but, singularly enough, before the Court could be assembled, both the accused and accuser had paid the debt of nature."

Page lxi., Note (*S*).—Sir Roger Sheaffe, *Bart.*, like Colonel de Peyster, was American born, 17th July, 1763, a native of Boston. He was a protégé of Earl Percy, educated by him, and entered the British army 1st May, 1778. When the lamented Brock was killed at Queenstown, General Sheaffe came up and succeeded him and was created a Baronet, and also otherwise promoted for his victory over the Americans.

Page lxii., Note (*T*).—Sir John Johnson in commenting on the War of 1812–15, was perfectly justified in the scathing language that he uses, but with equal justice almost as severe a criticism might be applied to the British. Results showed that the American Revolutionary generals, who, in most cases, were civilians decorated with military titles, in the interval between 1783 and 1812, had forgotten the little which they did know, beside being burdened with the increasing infirmities of age. ☞ Wayne was the only one who displayed dash, but when he did his best fighting he was a young man in comparison with the majority, and he had died in 1796, aged 51, sixteen years before the War of 1812 began. Still, the British were not much better off. Their best man, Sir Isaac Brock, a noble gentleman and capital soldier, who learned his first principles under Col. de Peyster, fell very early in the struggle, just as he was proving his capacity for the highest commands. Nevertheless, the failure of Prevost before Plattsburg, and his precipitous retreat with an army of veterans from a force principally composed of militia not much more than half as strong, was not much better than the surrender of Hull at Detroit. Again, what military fiasco was ever so astounding as that of Packenham at New Orleans. It was a slaughter due to incapacity almost unparalleled, when the losses are contrasted. Perhaps the best term to apply to it is presumption. Nor was the failure of Ross at Baltimore a result within the calculation of military chances. Except in some engagements, for instance, Chippewa, Lundy's Lane and Fort Erie, where young men had come to the front, there was little exhibition of tactical capacity, not to speak of strategy, although the fighting was magnificent. What is more, and strange to say, the British, who were considered far ahead of the world in naval matters, fell far below their American antagonists in everything connected with that business. This war on land almost justifies the criticism of Frederic the Great in regard to the campaigns of the Russians against the Turks,

that the one-eyed were fighting the blind. Like the Turk, the American excelled in the defence of positions and wherever marksmanship entered into the question. As usual, the Indians were utterly untrustworthy, and the only way to account for their employment by the British was the latter's deficiency in men. They had to take what they could get, and to utilize the Indians at all required an exceptional character like Colonel de Peyster, and even he could accomplish very little with them as soon as they got beyond the influence of his personal control.

NOTE.—ARMY COMMANDERS.—"The last, and not the least important element of the campaign, was the selection of *generals*. Instead of choosing young, active and enterprising leaders for our [American] armies, like Brown, Jackson, Scott, Gaines, Williams, Swift, McRee, Jesup, Totten, Wood, Kearny, Thayer, &c., such men were appointed to high commands as Hull, Harrison, Dearborn, Smyth, Chandler, Winder, Bloomfield, Winchester, &c.; some gray-headed veterans, whose faculties were benumbed by the frosts of age; some who had never set a squadron in the field; some distinguished only for inactivity and barrenness of mind; some whose names were wedded to disaster; and none who won a single laurel in the campaign."—Pages 76–77, "Campaigns of the War of 1812–15 against Great Britain, sketched and criticized; with Brief Biographies of the American Engineers, by Bvt. Major-General George W. Cullum, Colonel Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army—Retired. New York: James Miller, publisher, 779 Broadway, 1879.

ARMY COMMANDERS.—"The experience of the former campaign [1812] had not impressed upon the War Department the importance of vigorous and able leaders to our forces, who were still the Dearborns, Harrisons, Wilkinsons, Hamptons, Chandlers, Winders, &c., while we had in our armies a Brown, Pike, Swift, Scott, Miller, McRee, Totten, Wood, &c., in positions where they could accomplish but little."—Page 171, "Campaigns of the War of 1812–15, &c., by Bvt. Maj.-Gen. George W. Cullum, &c. New York, 1879.

Page lxii., Note (*U*).—The Americans made and make a great outcry about the British debarkations and damages along their coasts, but that they can justly do so seems unreasonable, because, as Sir John remarked, "the Canadians were an unoffending people." Nevertheless, the Americans did not hesitate to carry fire and sword into Canada, whose inhabitants did not desire them, as was proved by their brave and in some instances effectual resistance. Again, the Americans appealed to the whole world on account of the destruction of the public buildings at Washington, which were destroyed because they were not ransomed, forgetting that the majority of the Americans applauded Buonaparte, who exulted in wanton destruction, and imposed the most terribly exacting requisitions in money and material on every conquered place or territory, and showed no mercy if they were not forthcoming. There were no limits to his robberies, cruelties, exactions, usurpations and judicial murders. In 1809, he blew up the walls of Vienna, even after he

had obtained all he demanded, and, in 1812, the palace of the Russian emperors at Moscow, simply out of spite; which was certainly worse than what was done at Washington, because the British had spared private property, and the French carried off indiscriminately all that they could, private and public. Again, the Americans set the example. Newark was burned long before the British had given any excuse for such unchristian severity, and they kept it up. The British did retaliate; but, however contrary to Christian principles, such is the inevitable course of war. "War is cruelty, and you cannot refine it." Therefore, as the Bible says, the party that sets the example is the criminal offender in the highest degree. Again, almost all the cruelty in Canada fell upon districts which were settled by the Loyalists, whom the Americans had expelled and exiled under the severest penalties in case of return to their original homes, who, consequently, could not have been very anxious to come under the yoke again or forget what they and their fathers had suffered. If the Americans had invaded Great Britain, proper, not a word could be said. Finally, for the present, the Americans are always howling about the employment of Indians against them, forgetting that during the Revolution and the War of 1812 they did all they could to enlist the Indians against the British, and indulged in great jubilation if they could induce a few of apostate savages to forget the obligations of gratitude and the ties of centuries.

This whining over the sad results of war is unmanly and very much like the South when the Union armies invaded it to re-establish the national rights over rebellion, or like the French crying over the consequences of the war of 1870–1871, forgetting that, for nearly a quarter of a century, "a horde of [their] disciplined savages," as Dr. Knox puts it, had been fattening on the plunder of Europe, not to emphasize that for about two centuries and a half France had carried the most brutal extremities of fire and sword into the richest portions of Germany, Italy and the Netherlands, not sparing age or sex, the homes of the living, the receptacles of the dead, the palace, the cottage, the shrine, or anything on which they could vent their cruelty, their lust, or their greed. This is not written out of partiality for Great Britain, which neither avenged, rewarded nor provided for the American Loyalists, as was proclaimed again and again in Parliament, nor because the Editor's blood relations "paid the last full measure of devotion" in the quarrel of the mother country; but it is thus set down in the interests of TRUTH, since subsequent to the Revolution many others as near and dear served in arms for the United States in 1812–15, and suffered and died as devotedly for the Union and the suppression of the "Slaveholders' Rebellion" as their ancestors had done in endeavoring to put down another rebellion that to them and at that time seemed to be equally without justification, paying for their fidelity in death, wounds, exile and ruin.

Page lxii., Note (*V*).—No wonder Sir John Johnson was curious to learn "the movements of General Harrison's expedition." The narratives of his

operations, now that they are published and commented upon and distinctly known, are by no means clear or satisfactory without careful study. One thing is certain, whether his remoter plans were able or not, some of his movements were admirably planned. They were traversed by the bad conduct of the militia and thwarted by the worse incapacity of militia officers. More undertakings were ruined by the bad qualities of the troops—who were brave or presumptuous enough as individuals, but not soldiers—than the shortcomings of those in chief command. The militia often came to grief from excess of physical courage and temerity, and from want of discipline and care. The Virginia militia marched home in 1812, when most needed, just like the New York militia did to the sound of the guns which were killing their comrades at the first Bull Run, in 1861. Just so the militia at the Niagara frontier bawled out furiously to be transported over to meet the enemy at Queenstown; but, when they saw that fighting meant killing, and was a game both sides could play, they roared more unanimously that, according to the laws of the State, militia could not be called upon to serve beyond its borders, and they looked on while their companions were killed, wounded and captured, remaining spectators, under the protection of constitutional rights.

General Harrison's expedition, alluded to here, must have been prior to March, 1813, and had been productive of little result, although one of his subordinates won a great deal of reputation at Frenchtown, on the 13th January, 1813. This, however, is not conceded by a Canadian historian, Auchinleck. A very fair American account of General Harrison's campaign of 1812–13 is taken from the journal of Captain (afterward Lieutenant-Colonel) Wood, constituting Chapter X. of General Cullum's book, several times already referred to. The fact is, Great Britain did not expect the war, and, having very few regular troops in Canada, had to depend on the militia and Indians. As a rule, the Canadian militia behaved remarkably well for that class, much better than the Americans; but the British authorities remembered that they had duties at home, such as taking care of their crops, which the French governors never did, and which want of consideration was one of the causes that France lost Canada. There is no question but that, just as Carleton saved Canada for the crown in 1775–6, Brock preserved it in 1812–15. No American commander approached him in ability and energy, and had any one done so, the war would have been fought out at the expense of England on Canadian soil, while, as it turned out, it was confined altogether to the frontiers.

Page lxiii., Note (*W*). SACKETT'S HARBOR.—*Fas est ab hoste doceri:* consequently the Canadian "History of Auchinleck" (161–168), will be taken as the authority on this point. "Indecision, we will not call it timidity, prevented his [Sir George Prevost's] striking the blow, while the weather was yet favorable and the enemy unprepared" [29th May, 1813]. "But one sentiment of regret and mortification prevailed, on being obliged to quit a beaten

enemy, whom a small band had driven before them for three hours." "Great was the mortification of the people of Kington when, on the morning of the 30th [May, 1813], they saw the return of the fleet, with, instead of the whole garrison of Sackett's Harbor and an immense amount of military and naval stores, about one hundred prisoners. Loud were the animadversions and most bitter the strictures." Too much credit cannot be accorded to the sturdy energy of General Brown, who, although a militia general, was the inspiration and energy of the army. Providence sent him at a dark hour to supersede and command effete and inefficient men, and utilize the gallant soldiers, like Scott, who were coming rapidly to the front.

Lossing, in his "War of 1812," furnishes some excellent plans and illustrations and the following statements, to which the reader's attention is particularly invited: "The conduct of Sir George Prevost in this and other occurrences where he became military commander, was severely criticised. Wilkinson, in his 'Memoirs' (I., 585), declares that Sir James Yeo was averse to the retreat. He says he was informed that Major Drummond (afterward Lieutenant-Colonel Drummond, killed at Fort Erie), when Sir George gave the order to retreat, stepped up to him and said: 'Allow me a few minutes, Sir, and I will put you in possession of the place.' To this the haughty baronet replied: 'Obey your orders, Sir, and learn the first duty of a soldier.' The contempt for Sir George, on the part of the army, which his conduct on this occasion engendered, was much intensified by his inglorious retreat from Plattsburg, the following year." In connection with this last the Editor must add the result of his own personal observation, founded on several visits to Plattsburg. The engagement took place on the 11th September, 1814. That is not a season of heavy rain, and it was about that time, if not later, that the Editor saw and examined the Saranac, and recorded that the river, under anything like ordinary circumstances (that is except during heavy freshets), might be forded in several places with ease in line of battle. Prevost gave as one excuse for his retreat that the loss of the fleet deprived him of his means of supply. If he had beaten the American land-forces, so inferior in number, he could have captured or destroyed the victorious but disabled fleet, and supplied his immediate wants from the captured stores, and have speedily restored his communications. He should have remembered the adage, as old as war, "A victorious army knows neither fatigue nor hunger."

Page lxii., Note *X*). "The (Command of Ontario," "will be lost."—Prophetic words! The failure of Prevost in 1813, did, indeed, lose to the British the command of Lake Ontario, but it was the cause of still greater and more disastrous consequences. "The loss of Sackett's Harbor would have left to the American fleet no port to which it could retire, and the British naval-forces, greatly augmented, would have been able to capture or destroy the former. This success would have enabled a sufficiency of officers, of Personel and Material, to be transferred to Lake Erie to avert the British calamities there. That done, they could have been repassed to Lake Champlain and given such

a preponderance to the British in those waters as would have prevented the naval catastrophe there. As remarked, 'speculations of this kind are generally of very little use,' and it is very easy to be wise after the event." Still, whoever will study military and naval history will find hundreds of instances where the destruction of magazines and depots, &c., so delayed great enterprises that failure ensued where everything promised success. The destruction of the stores collected for the Invincible Armada may be said to have been the remote cause of its defeat; the destruction again of the French magazines at Givet, 16th March, 1696, by the Dutch General Cohorn, so paralyzed the armies of Louis XIV. that he lost a year, and that loss of time was the turning point of his supremacy. These, however, are two instances out of a multitude.

Page lxii., Note (*Y*). "*General* CLAY's *Defeat.*"—This refers to General Green Clay's movement and engagement for the relief of Fort Meigs, in which General Wm. Henry Harrison was invested by General Proctor. Sir John is thus far in error that the death of Clay was a false report. It was his second in command, Colonel William Dudley, who was killed, and his own entire force destroyed or captured, on the 4th May, 1813. The whole account of this operation will be found in Lossing's "War of 1812," with some very satisfactory plans; in Cullum's "Campaigns and Engineers in the War of 1812–15," chapter 10; General Cust's "Annals of the Wars" (2. 4. 141); Auchinleck's (Canadian) "History of the War of 1812, 1813, 1814," pages 182, &c. When writers speak of a *siege*, in which 1300, or 1200, at least 1100 pretty good hardy white troops, frontiersmen, excellent marksmen, were corralled in a strong work, constructed by an excellent regular engineer—were shut up by 522 regulars, 461 militia at most, and a body of Indians claimed to be 1200 to 1500, it seems to be a misnomer to style such a condition of affairs a siege. To the relief of the garrison Brig.-General Green Clay brought up about 1200 Kentuckians. This certainly made the forces about equal in numbers, although in quality the Americans ought to have considered themselves very far superior. The siege was not abandoned on account of anything that was done by the garrison to relieve themselves. Proctor's ammunition gave out; his militia went home to attend to their harvests, and his Indians, as usual, got tired and left him in a great measure. After this, it would be ridiculous to suppose that about five hundred regulars and a few militia, after deducting casualties and sick, should continue to invest a regular work occupied by twice as many whites equal to the best when fighting under cover, since the majority of them might almost be considered to be picked shots. There are two circumstances connected with this so-styled siege which are worthy of notice. The engineer in charge recorded that over one-third of the garrison were down with typhus fever and other endemic troubles, to which the investing force must have been equally exposed. Colonel de Peyster refers, again and again, in his letters, to such reduction of his force by disease. On the 21st November, 1782, he mentions that one-

half of a detachment of seventy men were incapable of service on that account. This is the reason why it is so preposterous to calculate the force of a column in line of battle, basing it on its paper numbers or on the number of rations issued. Men must eat, even if unfit to do active duty. A second noteworthy circumstance is the fact that the rebel yell was not first heard in the "Slaveholders' Rebellion." Clay's troops, Kentuckians, charging "raised the horrid Indian yell," which doubtless they had learned from the war-whoop of the savages with whom they were constantly at war. Whereas English troops have always been very undemonstrative, as were the Northern soldiers, who were very quiet, especially those from the East. On one occasion when a British force, charging or changing front, in India, accompanied the movement with shouts or hurrahs, Sir Charles Napier rebuked them severely, styling the noise un-English, or unworthy of Englishmen. It is very curious to observe that the troops of all nations, barbarous, semi-savage, or in a transition state, charge with tumultuous noise. The ancient and early mediæval Germans were famous for the "war-shouts" that accompanied their onset, which was met by the disciplined Romans in silence. It is, indeed, worthy of reflection that developed civilized manhood is generally serious under excitement, and true discipline tends to enforce "silence in the ranks." Every force in nature which is *radically* powerful is quiet.

Page lxiv., Note (*Z*). ST. JOHNS.—Sir John here refers to two immediately insignificant, remotely important engagements, (1) when Major-General Philip Schuyler and Brig.-Gen. Richard Montgomery made their first advance upon St. Johns, in September, 1775. General Carrington, in his sterling work, "Battles of the American Revolution" (page 128), merely alludes to them. He simply remarks that the first attempt, on the 6th, failed, as did the second, on the 10th. Even Gordon says little more. In fact, there does not seem to be any accessible narrative which goes into particulars. It would be very unjust to the Indians not to give them a great deal of credit for the valuable assistance that they rendered to the British at the commencement of the Revolution, when the mother country had so few troops in Canada, and had to depend almost altogether on a disaffected militia and the Indians. One result they undoubtedly helped to accomplish, gain of time, nearly two months, an inestimable advantage. Sir John justly said, "It saved Canada." Nor must it be forgotten that it was not far from the scene of these sputtering collisions that, (2) on the 25th of October, 1813, Hampton's army was more effectually repulsed by a Canadian militia colonel with a comparative handful of men. On this latter occasion, some Indians were present on both sides.

Page lxiv., Note (*Aa*).—*Major* and *Mrs.* LEAKE, at *Mort Lake*, which was then a pretty suburban village of England, on the Thames, eight miles W. S. W. of London. Major Robert William Leake married Margaret, daughter of Hon. John Watts, senior President of the King's Council of New York. (See "Charities of New York," p. 182, which in substance reads:)

CLIV.

"ROBERT LEAKE, Commissary of Stores, was connected with the disastrous expedition under General Braddock, in 1754. After that general's defeat at Monongahela, Leake settled in [N. Y.] city, where he acted as Commissary-General for the Colonies of North America until his death. Here he was married a second time to Ann Burrege, of this (N. Y.) city, who survived him ten years. He accumulated a large property during his residence in the city of New York, and died there on the 28th of December, 1773. Before his arrival in this country, the Commissary had four children, one daughter and three sons. One of these sons died in infancy, in 1753, in England. The daughter died in the following year, married, but without issue; the other two sons were Major ROBERT WILLIAM LEAKE and JOHN GEORGE LEAKE.

Major Leake's property in this country was confiscated, in consequence of his adherence to the government from whom he held his commission. His death occurred a few years after his marriage [with Margaret, youngest daughter of Hon. JOHN WATTS, Sr., of New York, and sister of the Hon. JOHN WATTS, Jr., Founder and Endower of the Leake and Watts Orphan House in New York]. The only issue of this marriage was a son, a lovely child, who died at the age of eight years, in 1793. [He was a beautiful child, and his likeness, painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence, in the possession of the Editor, is an exquisite picture and would be pronounced a gem in any gallery.] The death of this little boy was greatly deplored by his uncle, JOHN GEORGE LEAKE, who had, it was well-known, intended him as his sole heir. The Commissary Robert Leake's first wife, MARGARETTA, died before his departure for this country, and was buried at Bedlington, on the 13th of May, 1754. The fact of his first marriage, and of the death of his son James Edward, in infancy, appears from the inscription upon a tombstone erected to the memory of his wife in Bedlington Churchyard. The will, the testimony taken by the Surrogate in the contest before him in relation to it, and letters and papers produced on that occasion, establish the facts in reference to the children by this first marriage. He had no issue by his second marriage [except the lovely little boy above mentioned]. This evidence further established the fact of Robert Leake's residence at Bedlington, at the time of his appointment, on the 18th February, 1746–47, as Commissary at Cape Breton."

John George Leake grew to be a very wealthy man in New York, and, dying childless, left his extensive properties to the nephew of his sister-in-law, Margaret Watts Leake, Robert J. Watts, on condition that Mr. Watts should assume the name of Leake. This gentleman, the only surviving son of the Hon. John Watts, Jr., was considered the handsomest man in New York. He was equally remarkable for his charms of manner and of disposition. He accepted the property on the terms mentioned, but died very soon after. Mr. Leake's will being defective as to the real estate, that escheated to the State of New York, and the personality became the property of the father of the deceased, Hon. John Watts, who, having been extremely grieved that his only male representative should have consented to change his name, and

deeply affected by the loss of such a noble son, determined that he would not benefit, personally, by the money thus acquired, but apply it to the purpose designed by Mr. Leake in case that Robert J. Watts would not assume his name. Having inherited, John Watts founded and endowed the Charity, entitled the LEAKE AND WATTS ORPHAN HOUSE. No compulsion let to his coupling the name of Leake with his own, and his giving precedence to the former. His action was simply prompted by the generous nature of Mr. Watts, who felt that, in so doing, he recognized the noble conception of the connection from whom the property was originally derived.

There were two portraits, kit-rat or cabinet size, of Commissary Leake and Major Robert William Leake, B. A., in their uniforms, in the possession of the Hon. John Watts. These were placed in the hands of the sculptor, Ball Hughes, who had executed a very fine bust of Mr. Watts, to assist him in making studies for a bust of John G. Leake, Esq.; also, for the Leake and Watts Orphan House. Mr. Watts dying soon after, there was no one living competent to express a correct judgment of a resemblance, and Hughes moving from New York to Boston, without any right carried off these Leake portraits with him, or, at all events, they disappeared, and no efforts of the Editor's father, Frederic de Peyster, Esq., or himself, could ever get any traces of them. Thus the portrait of Major Leake's only child and the name attached to the Orphan House are the only mementos existing of an honored, opulent and distinguished family. In this connection as worthy of record to show how family resemblances are transmitted, the portrait of little Leake would have served for one of the Editor's youngest child, deceased; in some respects they were almost identical.

Page lxiv., Note (*Bb*). "*Mr.* WATTS."—This is the Hon. John Watts Senior, an opulent citizen and distinguished public man of New York city, who was attainted in 1779, by the Rebel government, although he had been absent from New York and in England for four years during which time he had no connection with the war. He was residing quietly in the mother country, when an atrocious edict rendered him an exile, with the penalty of death hanging over his head in case he should return to his native land or seek to recover the possessions of which he had been so iniquitously deprived.

Hon. John Watts, Sr., was born in New York, 5th April, 1715, O. S. He was grandfather of the writer's mother. In July, 1742, he married *Ann DeLancey*, born 23d April, 1723, who died 3d July, 1775, two months after her husband sailed for England, having embarked in the Charlotte packet, 4th May, and left the Neversink lighthouse (Sandy Hook) at 7 A. M., of the day following, with a heavy heart, foreseeing the distresses which were hanging over them.

His wife bore him as follows:

1743, August 23, a son, ROBERT.*

Continental Maj.-Gen. William Alexander, known in America as Lord Stirling, married Mary, eldest daughter of this Robert Watts.

1744, September 20, a daughter, ANN; subsequently married ARCHIBALD KENNEDY, 11th Earl of Cassilis.

1746, July 30, twins: a son (died in a few days), STEPHEN; a daughter (died a child), SUSANNA.

1749, August 27, a son, JOHN, the Editor's honored grandfather.

1750–51, February 24, a daughter, SUSANNA; married PHILIP KEARNY, father of *Major-General* STEPHEN WATTS KEARNY, grandfather of *Major-General* PHILIP KEARNY, U. S. V.

1753, October 27 (new style), a daughter, MARY; married *Sir* JOHN JOHNSON, *Knt.* and *Bart.*

1754, December 24, a son, christened STEPHEN (2d), who, as Major, was second in command to his brother-in-law, Sir JOHN JOHNSON, in the battle of Oriskany, in 1777.

1755, December 14, a daughter, MARGARET; married Major ROBERT WILLIAM LEAKE.

1746, a son (died as a child, of small-pox), JAMES.

Robert Watts, father of the foregoing JOHN, was born in *Edinburgh*, or at *Rose Hill* near it; emigrated to America toward the close of the seventeenth century, and died at New York, 21st September, 1750, about seventy-two years of age. He married, about the year 1706, MARY, eldest daughter

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* Inscription on a tombstone in Trinity Churchyard:

DEDICATED
TO THE MEMORY OF
ROBERT WATTS,
WHO DIED THE 16TH SEPT., 1814,
AGED 71 YEARS.

" Exua portium jam delatum
Jam fœtentem, tumulatum
Vitta ligat, lapis urget
Sed, si jubes, hic resurget.

" Jube, lapis revolvetur:
Jube vitta disrumpetur:
Expiturus, necit moras;
Post quam clamas exiforas."

ARISE TO JUDGMENT.
" This corruptible shall put on
incorruption, and this mortal
shall put on immortality."
ISAIAH.

" God spake by the mouth of
his Prophet."
" DEATH MUST BE SWALLOWED IN VICTORY!"

of WILLIAM NICOLL, Esquire, of *Islip*, on Long Island, who bore him, viz.: In or about—

1707, a daughter, ANN.

1709, a daughter, MARGARET.

Both died at *Edinburgh*, about 1724, soon after they got there.

It was the intention of this ROBERT WATTS to have settled in Scotland, but this catastrophe prevented it.

1713, May, MARY, a third daughter, was born, who married, in March, 1732, Captain RICHARD RIGGS, commanding one of the independent companies.

JOHN WATTS, as above,* born 5th April, 1715.

JOHN WATT, his grandfather [Why his father, ROBERT, added an *s* to his name is not known] (called his place, near New York City, *Rose Hill* (†), from a small seat he possessed near Edinburgh), had three sons and two daughters:

1. ADAM, who died about 1736, leaving a son, JOHN, who died middle-

*A portrait the of Hon. JOHN WATTS, Sr., taken late in life, in the possession of the Editor, is sufficient evidence of that capacity which was demonstrated by his letters, published by the Massachusetts Historical Society, addressed to General Monckton, just previous to the Revolution. One of the best judges of the documentary relics of that period pronounces them the most admirable exhibit of the prominent men and feelings of the time that have been made public. The portrait of his wife is equally indicative of matronly attractiveness, physical and mental. He was a member and president (?) of the King's Council of the Province of New York, and, if the British had succeeded, was destined to be its Lieutenant-Governor and Acting Governor. He was the first President of the New York City Hospital, and held other public offices, was remarkable for his benevolence and hospitality, and little deserved the fate that he experienced at the hands of those who deprived him of property and happiness, and embittered the close of a noble life.

The second surviving son of this stately pair, *Hon.* JOHN WATTS, Jr., and his wife, Jane de Lancey, when married, were considered the handsomest couple of the day. Mr. Watts retained his erect carriage and striking appearance to the last. Although he died at the age of eighty-seven, even in his latter years he was as straight and energetic in his movements as an Indian, and the year before his death could ride on horseback with the grace of a young man. He was the last Royal Recorder of the City of New York, and remained in this country after the War to take charge of the enormous estates of relatives and friends in the old country, because British property in many cases was not confiscated, although in many others, by an unjust discrimination, it was. He was for two sessions Speaker of the Assembly of the State of New York, 5th January, 1791, to 7th January, 1794; Member of Congress from 1793 to 1795; first Judge of Westchester County, State of New York, in 1806; Founder and Endower of the Leake and Watts Orphan House, and one of the Founders and afterwards President of the New York City Dispensary, &c. He quitted public life on account of his defeat through the arts of one of the members of a family who, while priding themselves on their aristocratic pretensions, have always been adroit enough to attain political position by those arts which best succeed with the Democratic party.

† The WATTS ESTATE, at Rose Hill, covered that part of the city of New York now embraced about between Broadway, the Old Post road (closed), Twenty-eighth and Twenty-first streets and the East River, forming a large proportion of the Eighteenth Ward. The venerable elms, destroyed since the Editor grew up, which adorned the entrance, stood near the corner of the Fourth avenue and Twenty-eighth street.

aged—had paid his brother Robert a visit in New York ; a son, ADAM, Professor of Humanity, in Edinburgh—died just before his father, aged twenty-seven years; and a daughter, MARGARET, died 1783, at an advanced age. Neither of these three ever married.

2. ROBERT, father of Hon. John Watts, Sr., of New York, already mentioned.

3. JOHN, who died, I believe, at Philadelphia, about 1707, single.

4. MARGARET, married *Sir* WALTER RIDDELL, *Bart.* [See Burke's Peerage and Baronetage (Edition of 1850, page 836), in which she is mentioned as Margaret, daughter of JOHN WATT, *of Rose Hill*, Lord of Session,] to whom she bore: 1. JOHN, who died before his father, single; 2. WALTER, who had five sons and one daughter, viz.: WALTER and ANDREW, who died before him; 3. JOHN (brought up in America by ROBERT WATT, subsequently WATTS), who inherited title and estate, and married there JANE BUCHANAN, the kind friend during the exile of her uncle, *Hon.* JOHN WATTS, Sr., of New York. He died at *Hempstead*, in 1768, leaving three sons: WALTER, just deceased in Edinburgh, the present *Sir* JAMES RIDDELL and JOHN; 4. JAMES, Lieutenant-Colonel in the Dutch service, still single ; 5. JANE, relict of CARR or *Cavers*, had no child ; 6. The youngest, THOMAS, was Captain of an India ship, purchased and settled at *Kaimes*, in Berwickshire.

Lady Riddell's children continued:

5. ROBERT, a clergyman ; dead, and left a widow, childless.

6. MARGARET, married to a Privy Counsellor, CARR, of *Cavers*. Her daughter, married to *John*, eldest brother and heir to the celebrated historian and philosopher, *David Hume*.

7. JANE, married to *John Forrest*.

8. CHRISTIE, who died advanced in years, above seventy, far, and was the only remaining cousin-german on the father's side of *Hon.* JOHN WATTS, Sr.

In continuation of this reference to the children of John Watts, of Rose Hill, in Scotland—

5. ALICE, first married to Mr. SCOTT, of Fife, by whom she had a daughter, married to Mr. ERSKINE, an advocate. Both dead, without issue. Her second husband was Mr. CALDERWOOD, *Lord* GOLTOWN, of the Sessions, by whom she had no children.

His Maternal Genealogy, is thus noted by *Hon.* JOHN WATTS, Sr.:

MATTHIAS NICOLLS was of Islip, an ancient village, six miles distant from the University of Oxford. He came over to New York in 1664, with his namesake Colonel Nicolls, when he and Sir Robert Carr conquered or wrested it from the Dutch. He was appointed Secretary to the Colony, and kept it all his life during that busy time, and numerous are the traces of his transactions and regularity. He died, about sixty-six years of age, leaving one son, WILLIAM, who saved himself by swimming ; all the other children, to the number of five or six, with their attendants, were drowned at once by their

boat upsetting, near Hellgate, in the East River. He alone survived of the unfortunate young flock. Except by tradition, this melancholy event is only recorded in the *Watts Family Tree*, to which, in 1843, the Nicoll family were forced to resort for particulars.

In his youth, this survivor, William Nicolls, went over to England, enlisted in the army in Queen Anne's Wars, went to Flanders, and was at death's door with sickness, but by a wonderful Providence survived and got home to America again. He became a most eminent lawyer, got a fine estate on the south side of Long Island, called by him *Islip*, and was Speaker of the Assembly for many years, which he declined by letter, in 1718. *In the same way that Robert Watt had taken an* S *to his name, for what reason or when there is no record, Mr.* WILLIAM NICOLLS *altered his father's name, and left the* S *out, calling himself, as all his descendants have since done,* NICOLL. He married the great Patroon's or Patentee's widow, of Albany, Stephen [miscopy (?) for KILIAEN] Van Rensselaer, of Albany, who died before him. He followed in 1722. By this union were produced three sons and three daughters, viz.:

1. BENJAMIN, who married a daughter of Colonel Floyd, and died young, about two years after his father, leaving: 1. A son, *William*, who married a D'Hormeur. He was of the age of, and died since, Hon. John Watts, Sr., left America, leaving five or six sons and daughters. 2. A son, *Benjamin*, J. W.'s beloved friend, whom he lost in the vigor of life, at forty-two, April, 1760.

2. WILLIAM, who was many years Member of the Assembly, and Speaker, as his father had been. He was a man of singular integrity and of singular manners, rather shy and uncommunicative, but candid and sincere, judging always for himself, being bred up much alone and self-taught. He always liberally admitted others to the utmost freedom of judgment, without the least emotion, prejudice or impatience; was sober, considerate, regular, of a temper scarcely to be moved, and abominated ostentation. He was but a youth of eighteen when his brother died, and, though totally inexperienced in the world, and the family affairs beyond measure unsettled and in disorder, involved in perplexed lawsuits and contests, by his firmness, good sense and unwearied application, he had the happiness of bringing them all to a clear and just settlement, living the rest of his days in peace and quiet. Dying unmarried and without a will, his estate devolved on his relations, as the law directs. He died on a journey, in a few minutes, at or near *Hempstead*, Long Island, aged sixty-six.

3. RENSSALAER, who resided near Albany.

4. MARY, mother of *Hon.* JOHN WATTS, *Sr.*

5. CATHERINE, married to a *Mr. Havens*, on Shelter Island, a dependency of Long Island.

6. FRANCES, was a union of merit and good sense, who, aged 77, was still living, the widow, about 1775, of Mr. *Edward Holland.* * * *

Page lxiv., Note (*Cc*).—The discussion of the righteous claims of the robbed

and expatriated Loyalists in the Parliament of Great Britain continued to be constantly revived by honest English representatives, anxious for the honor of Old England, for a great number of years. In looking over Gifford's "History of the Wars" (page 893), it appears that, in 1812, "Mr. Lockhart made a motion respecting the claims of the American Loyalists, and went into some statements respecting their origin and nature. They complained that they were injured by government taking [compelling them to take] a sum nearly one-third less than what would provide a just compensation for their losses, and the object of his motion was, that a committee should be appointed, to whom the petition of these claimants might be referred, who should examine into these claims and report upon them. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that the question would be found to resolve itself into this, that government having done all it could to enforce these claims without actually going to war about them, and having obtained from the American government all it could obtain [which amounted to nothing], whether it was now bound to make good a deficiency to so great an amount as was claimed. He apprehended the petitioners had no right to expect compensation from that house for what was due them from the American government. Leave was given to appoint the committee."

By subscribing the Peace of 1783, the British government sought to shirk a religious responsibility, by shifting it on to the government of the United States, which it knew, from sad experience, was utterly unwilling or unable to fulfill or enforce the obligations assumed, which duty the United States sought to transfer and impose upon the individual States, well aware that they would not assume it, and that they could not be compelled to do so.

The American Commissioners, when they signed the Peace, must have laughed in their sleeves at the credulity of the British negotiators, because they knew in their hearts that the Americans would never give up what they had stolen, and were incapable of making atonement to the Loyalists for what they had most wickedly caused them to suffer.

Von Clausewitz, who is one of the clearest of the *distinguished* authors who have written "on War" (ii., 8, 9), sometimes regarded a most remarkably independent thinker, makes the following pertinent observations: "Great part of the information obtained in war is contradictory, a still greater part is false, and by far the greatest part is of a doubtful character. What is required of an officer is a certain power of discrimination, which only knowledge of men and things and good judgment can give. *The law of probability must be his guide.* * * * Firm in reliance on his own better convictions, the chief must stand like a rock against which the sea breaks its fury in vain. The *role* is not easy." This is not only true *in* war, but in writing *on* war. To reconcile histories, American, English or French, on the Revolutionary War, is utterly impossible; and American and English on the War of 1812 about as difficult. Perhaps it is no wonder, for, with the exception of General Jackson's campaigns, the American generalship was

simply disgraceful. Nor was that of the British any better, except BROCK, who was a meteor, and as intense in brilliancy as such appearances often are, and as short-lived. He enjoyed the supreme felicity of a soldier to come short in nothing while he lived, and to die in the arms of victory, having saved the land committed to his protection from the invader.

Page lxv., Note (*Dd*). "THE CHOSEN PEOPLE OF THE LORD."—While the Whigs have painted themselves in the brightest colors, with the exception of La Fayette, and those who came over here determined to see everything enchanting, many of the disinterested French officers have drawn anything but flattering pictures of their Transatlantic allies, who esteemed themselves, particularly the Eastern colonists, "The Chosen People of the Lord." Count Fersen, who was on Rochambeau's staff, one of the most estimable and amiable of men, loyalty and honor itself, has left this record behind him, which is corroborated by more than one French officer who, in fighting the British, cared little or nothing for the Colonies, but was animated by a national hatred to strike a blow with any weapon whatsoever, in any manner, against the hereditary enemy of his country. FERSEN says: "MONEY is in all their actions the first object, and *their only thought is how to gain it.* Every one is for himself, NO ONE *for the public good.* The inhabitants of the coast, even the best Whigs, supply the English fleet, anchored in Gardner's Bay, with provisions of all kinds, because they pay them well; *they fleece us without compunction:* everything is an exorbitant price; in all the dealings we have had with them they have treated us more like enemies than friends. Their covetousness is unequalled; ☞*money is their god;* virtue, honour, all that is nothing to them in comparison with this precious metal. Not but what there are some estimable people among them; there are many who are noble and generous, but I speak of the nation in general."

Page lxv., same line as Note (*Dd*).—For "*Mahane,*" read MABANE, a gentleman well known in Canada, who filled several offices. (Douglas Brymner, 6, 6, 88.)

Page lxvii., Note (*Ee*).—P. LANGAN was an officer in the Indian Department, who was employed after the War on the St. Lawrence. I find an account of his disbursements for the transport of Indian supplies between Kingston and the Bay of Quinte in November, 1789. His name frequently occurs, but there is nothing to give any indication of his history. In a list of promotions, dated the 6th of June, 1804, is the name of *Patrick Langan,* "late a lieutenant in the Canada Provincial Forces," to be Barrack Master at Quebec (Archives; Series C, vol. 17, B 36). There the name is given as LangEn, but I have no doubt whatever that it is the same [individual] as reporting on the state of the barrack-bedding in Quebec on the 10th October, 1805; the signature 'P. LangAn is the same as that attached to his letters whilst he was in the Indian Service (C., vol. 547, page 167. On the 1st of June, 1808, he had an increase of salary as barrack-master (C., 548, page 78*a*). On the 29th of September, 1808, a new barrack-master was recommended for appoint-

ment, whether on the death or removal of Langan does not appear (C., 548, page 88), and on the 27th October, 1808, Lewis Fry returns thanks for the appointment (C., 548, page 92). I think Langan must have died, as I can trace him no further.—Douglas Brymner, Ottawa, 19. 4, 88).

E.Bartolozzi R.A.

John Johnson

CLXIII.

THE DE PEYSTER AND WATTS FAMILIES,

IN CONNECTION WITH THE

HISTORY OF THE COLONY, PROVINCE AND STATE

OF

NEW YORK.*

"Minds of little penetration rest naturally on the surface of things. They do not like to pierce deep into them, for fear of labor and trouble, sometimes *still more for fear of* TRUTH."—DR. PRIESTLY against VOLNEY (*Anti-Jacobin Review*, March-April), 1799.

MY LOYAL ANCESTORS.

"He, soon as there I stood at the tomb's foot,
Eyed me a space; then in disdainful mood
Address'd me: '*Say what ancestors were thine?*'
I, willing to obey him, straight reveal'd
The whole, nor kept back aught: whence he, his brow
Somewhat uplifting, cried: '*Fiercely were they*
Adverse to me, my party, and the blood
From whence I sprang: twice, therefore, I abroad
Scatter'd them.' '*Though driven out, yet they each time*
From all parts,' *answered I,* '*returned; an art*
Which yours have shown they are not skilled to learn.'"

Cary's Translation of Dante's "Inferno," *Canto* X., p. 98, line 41, &c.

There are few individuals in this country who can show such an aggregate of relations and connections in the field, supporting what they deemed the highest principle, fighting and falling in obedience to that loyalty which was just as admirable from 1775 to 1783 in the service of the mother country, to preserve the integrity of the British Empire, as it was from 1860 to 1865 in maintaining the Union of the United States:—nor was the Revolution any less a Rebellion, without justification, in many respects, than was the "Slaveholders' Rebellion," and there was less true and generous and general patriotism displayed throughout the Thirteen Colonies (1775–1783) than there was by the Northern States (1860–65), or devotion to a bad cause by the Confederates. In fact, if the truth was developed, there was no comparison, and the stigmas affixed by interested advocacy and venal pens to the Tories or Loyalists had in them just as little honesty and veracity as the virulence exhibited by the Romanists against the honest convictions and fearless devotion of Wick-

* PART II., called for by Prospectus, ABRIDGED. (*Second edition will be issued in detail.*)

liffe, Huss, Zwingli and Luther, or by the pedants in medicine against that reformer of practise, Paracelsus.

Although the de Peyster family have been in New York for seven generations, there are only a dozen, if as many, bearing the name to be found in a city directory. This may be due to a variety of causes, and it is very curious that JOHANNES DE PEYSTER—a Counsellor of the highest grade and Doctor of Laws, and Schepen of Rotterdam [1705–1707]—writing from that city, 16th November, 1703, remarks, "it seems as if the name was going to die out soon in Europe." Members of this family seem to have been very unfortunate as regards children.

JAMES DE PEYSTER, cousin of the Johannes above quoted, lived at Rouen, in Normandy, France. He left no children, nor did his widow, who married again and was known as Mrs. VANDERHULST DE PEYSTER. She left all her property to Frederic de Peyster, of New York, uncle of the writer's grandfather, Frederic de Peyster, youngest surviving son of JAMES DE PEYSTER, of New York. Frederic, the elder, nicknamed "the Marquis," from the elegance of his dress and manners and French habits of life, offered to adopt his nephew, and make him his heir, and started to take him out to France with him; but first sailed for Hayti or St. Domingo. The de Peysters had a great many relatives and friends in the West India Islands, and doubtless he went to St. Domingo because there was a family of de Pesters or de Peysters there—Messire Julien Joseph de Pestre, Knight of the Royal and Military Order of St. Louis, "Colonel-Commandant for the King of the Place," Port au Prince, who married at that port on the 7th December, 1797, Dame (widow ?) Juliette de Pestre. His first wife, whom he married in 1784, had been Claire de Pestre, of Tournay, in Hainault, Belgium. This family appear to have been swallowed up in the revolt of the Blacks against the French, in Hayti, just as Count de Pester and his family disappeared during the French Revolution, in the Netherlands.*

["The first exertions of the new commandant [Major-Gen. Sir Adam Williamson (1795)], were directed to strengthen his position at Port-au-Prince, and to establish and strengthen a cordon from a village called Thomaseau, and from Grande Bois at the extremity of the cul-de-sac, to Saint Mark across a ridge of mountains, which divide the plain of L'Arcohaye from that of Artibonite, besides a chain of posts extending from thence

*According to a Dutch pamphlet, sent out from Holland, DE PESTER, or DE PESTERS, is the same as de Peyster. Julien de Pester, Count of Gierle, of Turnhout and of Seneffe, &c., and every one belonging to him, disappeared in the vortex of the French Revolution.

Those who pretend to know, experts in genealogical lore, in Holland, say de Peyster, de Peistre, de Peijster, de Pester or van Pesters, de Pestre, are all one and the same name, some two centuries since, or even more recently, in South or French Brabant, the territory so known including Brussels, Waterloo, Seneffe (Julien de Pester, created Count of Turnhout and of Seneffe, in 1768), and other noted places. Madame de Pestre de Seneffe, married to the Count of Wargemont in February, 1776, belonged to this district. (See Parton's Life of Aaron Burr, for Countess de Peyster.)

to the Cape of Tiburon. For this purpose it became necessary to enlarge the plan, which had already taken place, of embodying corps of negroes; and many slaves were purchased for the purpose, from the French planters and others, and placed under the command of officers who had been in the service of the old government, or of planters most likely to ensure their utility by proper attention. Of these the corps of De Source, De Pyster, De Grass, La Serre, D'Alsun and Cocherel were the most respectable, but they were, with many other of the arrangements that now took place, extremely expensive, and not always efficient."—Page 199, Chap. III., "Historical Account of the Black Empire of Hayti." By Marcus Rainsford, late Captain 3d West India Regiment. London, 1805.

The orthography of the Eighteenth Century was most irregular, and often deceptive. Proper names were, in many instances, spelled according to sound, as instanced in the cases of Au Bic, Obic; Auglaise, Oglaise; already referred to in this book. The manner in which letters have been addressed to the Editor is as various as the spellings of his family name (mentioned in these notes), often according to the pronunciation, or the language of each writer and his appreciation of the sound and accent.]

The tradition runs that Frederic, the Marquis, took my grandfather Frederic out to St. Domingo, and, for some reason or other, left him there with a relative. A New York skipper, who came to Port au Prince, on landing, found a little boy weeping on the quay. He asked him what was the matter and what he was doing there. He said his uncle had brought him away from home in New York, and, on his way to France, by the way of St. Domingo, stopped at that island, to pay a visit to some relation or friend, and had sailed for France, leaving him there; that he was homesick and wanted to go back to New York. "Why," said the shipmaster, "I sailed for your father, and I will take you home to him." So he did. Frederic, the Marquis, was a pretty high poet, and, with some explanations which no one now living can make, in main, the story is most likely true.

The first of the DE PEYSTER family in what is now New York was JOHANNES. Although many of the family papers were in existence, intact, 4th December, 1786, going back to about the era of St. Bartholomew, 24th August, 1572, owing to a variety of vicissitudes, catastrophes, war, exile, fire, they have pretty much all disappeared; the last within about sixty years. From a memorandum preserved in the family of Captain Arent Schuyler de Peyster, it appeared that the first Johannis came out to New Amsterdam about 1633. If so, it must have been to look about him, before he determined to emigrate and settle, and then returned to Haarlem, in Holland, where he was born. There he married Cornelia Lubberts, a native of the same place, and with her emigrated to New York. He was possessed of large means for the period, and brought out with him massive silver plate, exquisite articles of jewelry, and at once took a prominent position in his new home. He was successively *Schepen*, 1655–1665; *Alderman*, 1666–1673; *Burgomaster*, 1673;

Alderman, 1676; and *Deputy Mayor*, 1667, of the City of New York; and appointed *Mayor*, 15th October, 1677, which last office he declined accepting, from his imperfect acquaintance with the English language. He was one of the wealthiest, most influential and patriotic citizens of the City of New Amsterdam. He was so eloquent a speaker, although not in English, that the first English Governor, Nicolls, said of him that "he could make a better platform speech than any other man outside of Parliament, only that his knowledge of the English tongue was defective." He filled important positions in the Church as well as in the city government, and was held in great respect. He is credited with being one of the six who planned the first charter of the City of New York, and, when the Dutch reconquered New York, he was associated with Cornelius Steenwyck as a member of the Commission of Defence, to prepare against another expected attempt of the English for the recovery of the Colony.

"Cornelis Steenwyck, invested with more than gubernatorial authority over this [the Dutch] conquest, was a rich and prominent merchant of New Amsterdam, its third Mayor, and a long time associated with Johannis de Peyster in the city administration of New Amsterdam or New Orange, particularly at one of those crises which have never occurred without affording additional proof of the fearless and unselfish patriotism of the Dutch. They belonged to that Commission who rivalled the resolution of the Muscovite in the conflagration of Moscow—so often cited as an illustrious example of patriot sacrifice. To make good New Amsterdam against the threatened attack from the English, in 1673, by the orders of that determined Commission the suburbs, villas, smiling boweries and gardens were all laid waste in ashes, so that they could neither impede the fire of the artillery of the fort and the bastions of the place, nor afford cover and lodgment to the enemy. But, in one respect, their example has scarcely ever been imitated; they not only destroyed for the good of the public, but they also paid for what the public good required to be laid waste." This destruction for preservation, was the more remarkably glorious, inasmuch as it was a perfect self-sacrifice, since there was nothing in a wilderness to fall back upon or take the place of what had been destroyed.

Johannes (1st) died previous to 1766. All his children occupied prominent positions. From Maria, his eldest daughter, was descended the *titular* Lord Stirling, William Alexander, Major-General in the Continental Army. All the sons of Johannis rose to the highest positions in the city and in the militia, which, at that period, indicated station as well as character. Of the Militia regiment in the City of New York, consisting of 685 men, his eldest son, Abraham de Peyster, was Colonel; a younger son, Cornelius, Captain of the Fifth Company of Foot, and another son, John, of the Troop of Horse.

Colonel, de Heer, Abraham de Peyster, eldest son of Johannes, was one of the most distinguished men the Colony produced. He was Aldermen of New York, in 1685, Mayor, in 1692, Judge of the Supreme Court, Treasurer

of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey, as long as he lived, Member of the King's Council, and as Acting Governor administered the affairs of the Province or Colony in 1700.

According to a letter (22, 12, '53) to the writer's father, Frederic de Peyster, so long President of the New York Historical and other Societies, by E. B. O'Callaghan, Editor of the "Documentary History of New York," "Col. de Peyster presided occasionally at the Council, in 1700 [as President thereof, he is recognized among the Governors of New York], as the eldest Member of the Board present, in the absence of Colonel Smith, *with whose pretensions*, at that time, you are no doubt familiar. In point of seniority Colonel de Peyster stood No. 3, Colonel Peter Schuyler being also his senior; but he absented himself likewise. *It is singular, as showing how historical events, like fashions in dress, repeat themselves and reappear, that the very principles of Government that divided* SMITH *and* DE PEYSTER *in those days caused a division in the Cabinet in Canada under the late* LORD METCALFE *and the* CONSTITUTIONAL VIEWS *advocated by* DE PEYSTER, *were only permanently triumphant under the present* LORD ELGIN. The progress of the present age is sometimes in a circle."

DE PEYSTER HOUSE, PEARL STREET, NEW YORK, 1700.

He possessed a very large property, and was noted for his benevolent, enterprising, hospitable and patriotic use of it. In 1700, he built the finest mansion in New York, which was filled with the richest furniture and adornments and a large amount of beautiful silverware, inventoried after his death at 1,619 ounces, equal in value to five times that amount at the present day. His house stood at the east side of Pearl, then Queen street, opposite Cedar street; the stables and offices were in the rear; the present de Peyster street constituted the entrance way to his stables and carriage house. Colonel de Peyster's great garden was bounded by Wall street. The Bank of New York stands upon one of the lots into which it was cut up after his death. During his mayoralty, improvements were inaugurated on a large scale, and prosecuted with energy. He was the intimate friend of the best governor the Province ever possessed, the Earl of Bellomont, who gave him a pair of remarkably beautiful pocket pistols, fabricated by Bordier, at Paris, as appears from the gold marquetry on the barrels. They are now in the possession of the writer, also his seal, quite a complicated piece of silver work; also the seal of his father, Johannes, which he brought out from Holland. The last is a very curious specimen of silverware, as is the gold chatelaine with its appendages, repoussé work, dating back to the middle of the sixteenth century, of most artistic jeweler's manufacture.

Col. Abraham de Peyster went back to Holland, and married Catherine de Peyster at Amsterdam, 5th April, 1684. Their portraits, exquisite paintings, taken at the time, in Holland, hang in the parlor of the writer. On the 13th September, 1684, he returned to New York.

Abraham (1) de Peyster's eldest daughter, CATHERINE, married Philip van Cortlandt, member of the King's Council, New York, after the death of her two elder brothers, John and Olaf, third proprietor of the Cortlandt Manor, Croton. Their son Pierre was first Lieutenant-Governor of the State of New York. His son, again, was Col. Philip van Cortlandt, of the Revolutionary army, brevetted brigadier-general after Yorktown, 1781. Another grandson of Philip and Catherine van Cortlandt was a Philip, who was a *Loyalist*, became a colonel in the British service, removed to England, and lies buried in Hailsham Church, Sussex county, England. His, the English branch, is extinct in the male line.

Abraham (1) de Peyster's second daughter, Elizabeth, married Hon. John Hamilton, Governor of the Province of New Jersey.

Colonel Abraham de Peyster's seventh son, Pierre Guillaume, born 15th January, 1707, married Catherine Schuyler, daughter of Arent Schuyler, aged eighteen, on the 19th December, 1733. June 27th, 1736, was born their second son, Arent Schuyler de Peyster, whose godfathers were his two uncles, Philip Van Cortlandt and Peter Schuyler, and his godmother his aunt Eve Bayard. These names are mentioned to show his connection with the most prominent families of the Province. In 1752 (4th January), in his sixteenth year, this youth sailed for London in the brigantine Nebuchadnezzar, and

entered the British Army, 10th June, 1755. On the 21st September, 1757, he was commissioned Lieutenant in the Eighth, or King's Regiment of Foot, which embarked for Canada, 16th May, 1768, in which year Arent Schuyler de Peyster was Captain, 23d November. His connection with American affairs was most prominent and influential, from that time until the regiment to which he belonged returned to England, in September, 1785.

In his sphere, physically so large, morally small as regards the vast stage then occupied by the contests of nations—his influence was still all-sufficient to control a race of men, and convert it to the assistance of the monarch he served. Like Admiral Collingwood, he was too useful in that sphere to be let go out of it, and there he staid until the Indian, if he was not to serve forever the crown of England, was, nevertheless, not to counteract the progress of Saxon civilization in the interests of that miserable hybrid, styled Latin civilization. Under the former, the savage might have to disappear under the terribly cruel circumstances of the conflict of races; under the latter, he was only continued in existence as noxious matter in an already noxious compound. Eternal Wisdom designed that since the term of the Latin influence had been reached; while it was permitted to linger in the Old World, it was not to be allowed to continue its evils triumphantly in the New. That Colonel de Peyster had so prominent and large a force in determining this by his effect upon the Indian element, constitutes him a figure worthy of notice in the development of this continent, even when serving the mother-country, and elevates him as one of those to whom is due recognition and respect in the history of a great struggle, and to whom is applicable the striking lines of Wordsworth:

> "Enough, if something from our hand have power
> *To live* and move, and *serve the future hour*,
> And if, as toward the silent tomb we go—
> * * * * *
> We feel that we are greater than we know."

Colonel de Peyster was one of those few men, whom their governments found so adapted to a trust, that their services were indispensable, until the difficulties which were to be met and overcome had been surmounted—chiefly through an entire change of circumstances. With the exception of Sir William Johnson, "the Indian Tamer," no one in the British service controlled and utilized the Lake and Western Indians, while inculcating humanity, as the best policy as well as a Christian duty, to the same degree as Arent Schuyler de Peyster, and that at a time when his relatives and friends were suffering outrageous wrongs from the Americans, and often exposed to cruelties which, considering the difference of color and heredity, were much more inexcusable than the torments natural to the dispositions and customs and codes of the savages.

Until 1791, the 8th remained in South Britain, Colonel de Peyster being in command of the garrison of Plymouth, when it proceeded to Ireland, and in the summer of 1793 was sent to Flanders. About that year, Colonel de

Peyster retired from active service, and took up his residence at Mavis Grove, two miles distant from Dumfries, in Scotland, the original home of his wife, Rebecca Blair. He died quite suddenly, 26th November, 1822, and his wife 20th February, 1827. As they had no children, and by mutual will, the property inured to the survivor, it passed away from the family and name of de Peyster.

About 1795, when the wars growing out of the French Revolution became a menace to every European nation, Volunteers were organized in England and Scotland, and, at first, at Dumfries, a battalion, consisting originally of only two companies, of which Colonel de Peyster was Major-Commandant, although he was sixty years of age. This corps was afterwards augmented into the First Regiment of Dumfries Gentlemen Volunteers, of which Arent S. de Peyster was Colonel. A number of the gentry of the neighborhood, even including divines, stimulated by patriotism, belonged to this corps. Concerning one of these reverend soldiers the following anecdote is narrated, showing the prompt wit of Colonel de Peyster.

In the Memoir of Rev. Henry Duncan, Minister of Ruthwell,* in Scotland, page 39, ed. Rob. Carter, New York, 1848, is the following passage relating to an incident in his life, when he volunteered to do military duty on the expected French invasion, although a clergyman.

"On one occasion, he had to preach in one of the churches of Dumfries, on the morning of a Sabbath immediately succeeding a night which he had spent on guard.

"'You reverse the couplet of Hudibras,' said *the witty* COLONEL DE PEYSTER, who met him in the street at daybreak, hastening to change his uniform for the more sober dress of his clerical profession:

"'*So like a lobster boiled, the morn*
From black to red began to turn.'"

James Ferguson, Esq., of Mintlaw, Aberdeenshire, Scotland, and Mr. George Stronach, of the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, kindly furnished the writer with references and notes from editions of Burns' works, in regard to these volunteers (see pages 57, 67, 73, *supra*), which serves to show that, in the early part of 1795, two companies of volunteers† were raised by Dumfries.

By "War Office Intimation," dated 24th March, A. S. de Peyster, Esq., was appointed major-commandant of the Dumfries Volunteers, and various

* Ruthwell is a parish on the coast of Dumfriesshire, and the little village of that name is about 10¼ miles South of Dumfries. This Dr. Henry Duncan, Parish Minister, was a man of note.

† "WAR OFFICE, March 24 (1795), DUMFRIESSHIRE CORPS OF VOLUNTEERS. A. S. de Peyster, Esqr., to be major-commandant; John Hamilton and John Finnan, Esqrs., captains; David Newall and Wellwood Maxwell, gent., first-lieutenants; Francis Shortt and Thomas White, gents, second-lieutenants."—*Gazette.*

gentlemen of the district were nominated as captains and lieutenants. This is the original corps in which Burns carried a musket under Col. Arent Schuyler de Peyster (retired), then major-commandant of the Dumfries Volunteers, who, although sixty-four years of age at this date, survived Burns upwards of a quarter of a century. It was to this officer the poet, in 1796, addressed his

POEM ON LIFE.*

My honour'd Colonel, deep I feel
Your interest in the Poet's weal;
Ah! now sma' heart ha'e I to speel
The steep Parnassus,
Surrounded thus by bolus pill,
And potion glasses.

Oh what a canty warld were it,
Would pain and care, and sickness spare it;
And fortune favour worth and merit,
As they deserve:
(And aye a rowth, roast beef and claret
Syne wha wad starve?)

Dame Life, tho' fiction out may trick her,
And in paste gems and frippery deck her;
Oh! flickering, feeble, and unsicker
I 've found her still,
Aye, wavering like the willow wicker,
'Tween good and ill.

Then that curst carmagnole, auld Satan,
Watches, like baudians by a rattan,
Our sinfu' saul to get a claut on
Wi' felon ire;
Syne, whip! his tail ye 'll ne'er cast saut on,
He 's off like fire.

Ah, Nick! ah, Nick! it is na fair,
First showing us the tempting ware,
Bright wines and bonnie lassies rare,
To put us daft;
Syne weave, unseen, thy spider snare
O' hell's damn'd waft.

Poor man, the fly, aft bizzes by,
And aft as chance he comes thee nigh,
Thy auld damn'd elbow yeuks wi' joy,
And hellish pleasure;
Already in thy fancy's eye,
Thy sicker treasure.

* DE PEYSTER, Colonel of the Dumfries Volunteers, distinguished himself in the American War. He was stern of spirit, and a strict disciplinarian; but beneath a somewhat rough exterior concealed a warm and affectionate heart.

CLXXII.

Soon, heels o'er gowdie! in he gangs,
And like sheep-head on a tangs,
Thy grinning laugh enjoys his pangs
And murdering wrestle,
As dangling in the wind, he hangs
A gibbet's tassel.

But test you think I am uncivil,
To plague you with this draunting drivel,
Abjuring a' intentions evil,
I quat my pen:
The Lord preserve us fra the devil!
Amen! Amen!

"On retiring from active service [sold out?], Colonel de Peyster settled down in Dumfries, the native place of his wife, who was a daughter of Provost Blair. The wife of Burns' friend, John M'Murdo, of Drumlanrig, was another. On the King's birthday (4th June), a set (stand) of colors, prepared by Mrs. de Peyster, wife of the commandant, was presented in a ceremonious manner to the Dumfries Volunteers in the Square, where the Duke of Queensbury's monument stands. . The Rev. Mr. Burnside, one of the clergymen of the town, said a prayer on the occasion, and complimented the corps on its good discipline, which, he said, had been mainly owing to de Peyster's assiduity in drilling. At four o'clock the whole Volunteers and a number of other gentlemen were entertained at dinner in the "King's Arms," by the Magistrates, and, at five, the company adjourned to the court house, where the King's health was drank, and other loyal and constitutional toasts, suited to the occasion. The whole day was spent in the utmost harmony, &c."

"I remember well," says Cunningham, "the appearance of that respectable corps, their *odd but not ungraceful dress, white kerseymere breeches and waistcoat, short blue coat faced with red, and round hat surmounted by a bearskin like the helmets of our Horse Guards.*" (Luard's Light Dragoon?)

It is most likely, these Dumfries Volunteers were among the germs of that enormous force, called into existence, in 1794, by Pitt; Regulars, *Fencibles* (or Volunteers) and Militia, *as well* to protect the moneyed interests at home against the Jacobinism aroused by the successes of the French Revolution, against all vested rights of government, religion and property, *as* to guard the British islands, against those invasions which continued to be carried out —on a small scale, it is true—as well as threatened, until they culminated in the gigantic preparations of Napoleon, in the first years of the immediately succeeding nineteenth century, 1803–5. That these volunteers were adjuncts to the police, is plainly alluded to in the following song, and were aimed at danger from *within* as well as peril from *without.*

CLXXIII.

THE DUMFRIES VOLUNTEERS.*

TUNE—"*Push about the Jorum.*"

I.

Does haughty Gaul invasion threat?
Then let the louns beware, Sir;
There 's wooden walls upon our seas,
And volunteers on shore, Sir.
The Nith shall rin to Corsincon,
The Criffel sink in Solway,
Ere we shall permit a foreign foe
On British ground to rally!
We 'll ne'er permit a foreign foe
On British ground to rally.

II.

O let us not, like snarling curs,
In wrangling be divided;
Till, slap! comes in an unco loun,
And wi'a rung decide it.
Be Britain still to Britain true,
Amang oursels united;
For never but by British hands
Maun British wrangs be righted!
For never but by British hands
Maun British wrangs be righted!

III.

The kettle o' the kirk and state,
Perhaps a clout may fail in 't;
But de'il a foreign tinkler loun
Shall ever ca' a nail in 't.
Our fathers' bluid the kettle bought;
And wha wad dare to spoil it?
By heavens! the sacrilegious dog
Shall fuel be to boil it.
By heavens! the sacrilegious dog
Shall fuel be to boil it.

IV.

The wretch that wad a tyrant own,
And the wretch his true-sworn brother,
Wha would set the mob aboon the throne,
May they be damned together!
Wha will not sing "God save the King,"
Shall hang as high 's the steeple;
But while we sing "God save the King,"
We 'll ne'er forget the People.
But while we sing, "God save the King,"
We 'll not forget the People.

* "When the French threatened to invade this country, in 1795, Burns enrolled himself among the Gentlemen Volunteers of Dumfries, and stood shoulder to shoulder with his

CLXXIV.

SONG OF DEATH.

TUNE—"*Oran an Aoig.*"

Scene.—A field of battle; time of the day—evening; the wounded and dying of the victorious army are supposed to join in the following Song.

I.

Farewell, thou fair day, thou green earth and ye skies,
Now gay with the bright setting sun!
Farewell, loves and friendships, ye dear tender ties,—
Our race of existence is run!

II.

Thou grim king of terrors, thou life's gloomy foe!
Go, frighten the coward and slave;
Go, teach them to tremble, fell tyrant! but know,
No terrors hast thou to the brave!

III.

Thou strik'st the dull peasant—he sinks in the dark,
Nor saves e'en the wreck of a name;
Thou strik'st the young hero—a glorious mark!
He falls in the blaze of his flame!

IV.

In the field of proud honour—our swords in our hands—
Our king and our country to save—
While victory shines on life's last ebbing sands,
O! who would not rest with the brave?

---

friends, Maxwell, Staig and Syme. On going home he wrote 'The Dumfries Volunteers.' The song became popular at once, and was soon to be heard on hill and dale, for the peasantry of Scotland sing at the sheepfold and at the plough, and cheer themselves with verse in all ordinary pursuits of life. To extend its influence still farther, he had it printed with music upon a separate sheet, by Johnson, and thus it penetrated into the nobleman's drawing-room as well as into the farmer's spence. Some of the allusions are local, and require explanation. If Nith ran to Corsincon, it would run backwards, and up hill, too. The Criffel is a high green mountain on the Scottish side of the Solway, and it is said, in the legends of the district, to be the materials which a witch had collected to choke up the sea that the English army might walk over dry-shod."—CUNNINGHAM.

"Though the vehemence of Burns' temper, increased as it often was by stimulating liquors, might lead him into many improper and unguarded expressions, there seems no reason to doubt of his attachment to our mixed form of government. In his 'Commonplace Book,' where he could have no temptation to disguise, are the following sentiments: 'Whatever might be my sentiments of republics, ancient or modern, as to Britain, I ever abjured the idea. A constitution which, in its original principles, experience has proved to be every way fitted for our happiness, it would be insanity to abandon for an untried visionary theory.' In conformity to these sentiments, when the pressing state of public affairs called, in 1795, for a general arming of the people, Burns appeared in the ranks of the Dumfries Volunteers, and employed his poetical talents in stimulating their patriotism [through his song, 'The Dumfries Volunteers']; and, at this season of alarm, he brought forward a hymn ['The Song of Death'], worthy of the Grecian muse, when Greece was most conspicuous for genius and valor."

CLXXV.

"This veteran in arms, and patriarch in years, Colonel DE PEYSTER, died at his elegant residence, Mavis Grove, two miles out of Dumfries, on Tuesday, 26th November, 1822, at the age of 86–87 years. He had held the royal commission for about sixty-seven years, having entered the British army 10th June, 1755, and been commissioned a lieutenant, with rank from previous date, 21st September, 1757. His unexpected decease seems to have been due to an accident. Though of Dutch extraction, he was Briton by birth, having been born in the Province of New York, 27th June, 1736, and his name is the more intensely foreign when given, as it should be, at full length—Arentz Schuyler de Peyster. * * * He was distinguished and even beloved by all for his bearing as a soldier and urbanity as a gentleman. His popularity, in fact, was unbounded, and of this the principal inhabitants were so sensible that they presented him with a magnificent piece of plate inscribed in the most flattering and affectionate terms, and to him might have applied, though his modesty prevented him, the just and striking sentiment of Shakespeare—

> "'The purest pleasure mortal times afford
> Is spotless reputation.'

"At the time of his death Colonel de Peyster had entered his eighty-seventh year; and, but for the accident that led to his dissolution, his span might have embraced a century or more. As he entered the army when a mere boy—eighteen or nineteen at most—he held the royal commission for nearly the allotted span of man's life, three score years and ten, and was an officer (21st September, 1757) before his present Majesty was born (12th August, 1767), a distinction that falls to the lot of few, and which in his case was the more remarkable from the nature of the services in which his youth and manhood were passed. It is said that his first experience of a soldier's struggle and suffering was while yet a youth, under his famous uncle, Colonel Peter Schuyler, of New Jersey, who commanded the regiment from that Province from 1744 to 1760. [This would not be exceptional, for Sir John Johnson accompanied his father to his fields of battle and, when the majority of boys are at school or at college, witnessed two of the bloodiest conflicts, on which depended the fate of the Province or Colony of New York—the Battle of Lake George, in 1755, and Siege and Battle of Niagara, in 1759.] For more than half a century he was familiar with all the dangers of the 'tented field'—lived fully as much in camp as in quarters—had studied humanity under every phasis, from the palace of the monarch to the hut of the savage—from a royal levee to the 'palaver' of a tribe of North American Indians. During his long and active career, he commanded at Detroit, Michilimackinac and other parts of Upper Canada, during the most stormy period of the war, among nations not only fierce and savage, but decidedly hostile to the British Government. Yet, by his prudence and foresight—by the adoption of measures at once fitted to conciliate and overawe—by combining the talents of the soldier and civilian—he completely succeeded in detaching the Indians from the

French cause; and, in this way, contributed in no slight degree to the safety and consolidation of our [the British] transatlantic possessions. About this time his tent was long pitched on the very confines of civilization; and, on one occasion, he received and succored, in the kindest manner, a knot of Moravian missionaries, who, abandoning all the comforts of home, had crossed the ocean, and penetrated to the wilds of Upper Canada, with the view of extending their Master's kingdom, and sowing amidst every species of discouragement the good seed of Christian knowledge, in the humble hope that, sooner or later, it would ripen into that happy consummation, which the author of the Colonel's obituary once ventured to anticipate, in regard to a different and still more benighted portion of the world [Africa]:

> "'And where the forest monsters yell,
> What time the lion leaves his den,
> Shall sweetly chime the Sabbath bell,
> And rise the blest abodes of men.'

"After he had commanded for many years the Eighth Regiment, he hade, as he no doubt thought at the time, a final adieu to the din of arms, and set himself quietly down in Dumfries, the native town of Mrs. de Peyster, and in which all her local attachments centred. This venerable lady, who survived her husband a few years, had beguiled his cares and followed his fortunes in every situation—at home and abroad—among savage tribes and polished communities—in the most distant stations of Upper Canada, as well as in walled and garrisoned cities. Indeed, it may be stated, without the slightest qualification, that there never was a more venerable and respectable pair. For a period far exceeding the average term of human life, they shared the same bed, broke the same bread, and almost drank out of the same cup, without being separated for a single day and, altogether, the Colonel's bearing to his faithful and loving spouse bore a greater resemblance to what we ween of the age of chivalry, than to the altered, and, as it is feared, not improved manners of modern times.

"At the stormy period of the French Revolution, the Colonel's zeal and talents were again called into exercise in the embodying and training of the 'First Regiment of Dumfries Volunteers.' [There were eventually three, First, Second and Third.] On this occasion his military ardour was completely revived, and his efforts, fortunately, were so well seconded that, in the course of a very few months, his associates in arms displayed all the steadiness of a Regiment of the Line—a fact which deserves to be recorded as equally honorable to the men who so eagerly rallied around the standard of order and the veteran commander who was so prompt in extending to them the benefits of his experience, and animating them with a portion of his own spirit. Of this corps, Robert Burns was an original member, and it has even been whispered that the private and commandant waged, at one time, a paper war through the respectable medium of the Dumfries *Journal*. Among other

accomplishments, such as a taste for horticulture, natural history and architectural ornament, Colonel de Peyster, through his life, possessed a great fondness for literature and a ready talent for versification. Of this, ample proofs will be found in the volume of poems ('MISCELLANIES,' *supra*), which he printed, privately, for the use of his friends; but, in the case just alluded to, he was at first totally unaware of the name and calibre of his poetical antagonist. Secrets, however, will out, and when he learned how matters stood, he not only retired from the field, but remarked with the greatest good humor, that there was a great difference between Mars and the Muses—that to measure swords was one thing, and pens another—and that he had no ambition to break a lance in an arena in which the position of the parties was so completely reversed, that Burns became the veteran and himself the recruit.

"In his person, Colonel de Peyster was tall, soldier-like and commanding; in his manners, easy, affable and open; in his affections, warm, generous and sincere; in his principles, and particularly his political creed, firm even to inflexibility. No man, I believe, ever possessed more of the principle of vitality. Old age, which had silvered his hair and furrowed his cheeks, made so little impression on his inner man that those who were oftenest in his society declare, that up to the period of his last illness, his mind appeared as active and his intellect as vigorous as they had ever been. When the weather permitted, he still took his accustomed exercise and walked around the billiard table, or bestrode his gigantic charger, apparently with as little difficulty as a man of middle age; and, when so mounted, I have often fancied that I beheld in him the last connecting link between the old and the new schools of military men.* In the power of discriminating faces, and recognizing in a moment every individual he ever knew, few men, it is said, possess so much acuteness as his present Majesty—an instance of which talent I am enabled to give. Among his other services, Colonel de Peyster commanded at one time the garrison at Plymouth, and while discharging that duty he had the honor of being introduced to the Prince of Wales. This circumstance his Majesty remembered perfectly, and, while conversing

* "Arent S. de Peyster, Colonel of the Gentlemen Volunteers of Dumfries, was a rigid disciplinarian: he had distinguished himself during the colonial war in America, and defended Detroit against the united efforts of the Indians and Republicans. He was regarded by many as a person harsh and stern; but this belonged rather to his manners than to his heart. Save that he wrote indifferent rhymes, he was in every respect a soldier. He thought the science of war the noblest of all sciences; a parade day the most glorious of all days, save that of victory; and a soldier, in the words of Prior, 'No godhead, but the first of men.' His voice was rough and commanding; his eye brightened up whenever he looked along the glittering ranks which he ruled; he forgot that he was eighty years old, and

"'Bold soldier-featured, undismayed, he strode along.'

This good old soldier befriended the poet as far as the poet would permit, for Burns was not without friends in his last moments."—From CUNNINGHAM'S "Life and Works of Burns."

with the Marquis of Queensbury, during his visit to Scotland, he inquired whether his old friend, the Colonel, was still alive. His Lordship replied in the affirmative, and at the same time stated that nothing but the advanced age and growing infirmities of his spouse had prevented him from visiting Holyrood on so interesting an occasion. 'Well,' said his Majesty, 'I am sorry for it; they were always a loving, and must now be a truly venerable, couple; for one of the oldest things I remember is having danced Moni Musk with Mrs. de Peyster.' The remains of Colonel de Peyster were interred in St. Michael's Churchyard on the 2d December, 1822, in presence, it is believed, of a greater crowd than ever entered or surrounded its walls since the funeral of Burns. As fitted the occasion, the gallant old veteran was buried with military honors. The staff of the Dumfriesshire militia attended, and nearly the whole surviving members of the Dumfries Volunteers resumed the habiliments they had so long laid aside, as the most expressive mode of evincing their respect for the memory of their deceased and revered commander. Among other mourners, nearly the whole gentlemen of Dumfriesshire were present, with the most noble Marquis of Queensbury at their head. As the procession passed along, every window was filled with spectators, and, with the exception already mentioned, it would be difficult to name an occasion on which the sympathy of the public was more universally excited. The Colonel belonged to the Church of England, and the service for the dead was beautifully and impressively read by the Rev. Charles Babington."—From "Sketches from Nature," by JOHN M'DIARMED, 1830; Dumfries *Courier*, Dumfries *Journal*, &c.

INSCRIPTION ON COLONEL DE PEYSTER'S TOMBSTONE, ST. MICHAEL'S, DUMFRIES.

"Sacred to the memory of Colonel Arent Schuyler de Peyster, of Mavis Grove, who died on the 26th November, 1822, at a very advanced age, of which upwards of sixty years were devoted to the service of his KING and Country. He was no less distinguished by his loyalty and honourable principles than by the cordiality of his Manners and the warmth and sincerity of his Friendship, and his Memory will long be cherished and revered by those who enjoyed the happiness of his Acquaintance. Of the Christian humility of his mind a fair estimate may be formed from the following simple lines, written by him within a week of his death:

"'Raise no vain Structure o'er my Grave;
One simple stone is all I crave,
To say Beneath a sinner lies
Who died in hopes again to rise,
Through Christ alone to be forgiven
And fitted for the joys of Heaven.'"

Beneath this is a tablet setting forth, "And of Rebecca Blair, his Wife, who died 20th February, 1827."

Captain Arent Schuyler DE PEYSTER was fourth child and eldest son of Pierre Guillaume, 2d, who espoused the Royal cause and left this country some time previous to the departure of his family, who were sent over to Eng-

land in a man-of-war. His distinguished uncle and godfather, Col. Arent Schuyler de Peyster, assumed the expense and direction of his education, intending him to join the 8th or King's Regiment of Foot, which he commanded, and placed him at the school of "good" Mr. Pickbourne, at Hackney, where he was at his studies when the Colonel named him to an ensigncy, intending to transfer him, when prepared, to the military school at Marlow, to fit him thoroughly for the profession of arms. Filled, however, with a desire for adventure, at the age of fifteen, the subject of this sketch abandoned his books and bade adieu to Old England, and, "with the world before him," commenced his career as rover by sea and shore. In the course of his various wanderings, he sailed twice around the world, doubled the Cape of Good Hope fifteen times, visited most of the Polynesian Islands, and, in a passage from the western coast of America to Calcutta, discovered among several others, the group of islands bearing his name. He married the sister of Gen. Alexander Macomb, to whom is attributed the victory of Plattsburg, in 1814, and who was subsequently General-in-Chief of the United States Army. Captain de Peyster had only three daughters.

At the same time that Colonel Arent Schuyler de Peyster was distinguishing himself in the northwest, he had three cousins-german, who were displaying their loyalty, with equal devotion, in the Thirteen Colonies, proper. The eldest, Abraham, the writer's great-uncle, was senior Captain in the King's American Regiment. He saw a great deal of fighting on fields remote from each other—farthest north, in Rhode Island—farthest South, in the Carolinas. He was second in command, and, finally (after the fall of his superior, Colonel Patrick Ferguson, B. A., the dearest friend of the writer's grandfather),* chief in the battle of King's Mountain, in the bloodiest fight for the numbers engaged at the South, and, in some respects, this was also the most decisive. It solved the problem in the negative, whether or not the loyal population of the South could hold their own, unless in connection with main bodies of the British Army, or supported by it. They were outnumbered, and, belonging as a rule to those who had something to lose, they lacked the ferociousness and recklessness of their opponents. It is curious that another

* The writer's grandfather, Captain Frederic de Peyster—who held his first military commission when about seventeen or eighteen—saw a great deal of service after he was twenty-one in Georgia and South Carolina, where he was severely wounded. Although so young, he had already several years' experience in military command, and he soon became a favorite with Ferguson, whose counsels proved most beneficial afterwards, and throughout a long life. Fortunately for him, Ferguson had detached him with his command before the conflict of King's Mountain, to assist in hunting Clark out of Georgia. Altough de Peyster was captain in Lieutenant-Colonel Turnbull's New York Volunteers, Ferguson's Provincial Corps of Loyalists was composed of picked officers and men from different regiments, and, as he (Ferguson) was a capital judge of men and had seen a great deal of war, it is reasonable to suppose that, as the selection was left to him, he took the very best that he could get. For any one to have been picked out by Ferguson to serve with him was equivalent to a brevet of merit for courage and ability.

PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN.

7TH OCTOBER, 1780.

BY GEN. THOMAS GRAHAM.

From drawings made on the spot and details furnished by several who took part in the fight, and for that purpose accompanied him to the ground.

[Americans, 1600 to 2000; Allaire says 2500; Loyalists, picked Volunteers, 100; Militia, 800.]

"*a a a a.* Dotted line, showing base of the mountain; *b b.* Dotted line, showing cleared or partially cleared (generally bald) stony summit of mountain, subject to an unavoidable, concentric fire; *C C C C C*, outside of *a a a a.* Base line of mountain, designate woods more or less dense; *d.* Branch of Clark's Fork of Bullock's Creek, which flows southwesterly through, and enters Broad river, near the southwest extremity of York District, or county, South Carolina; *e.* (Ridge ?) Road connecting with routes between Yorkville, S. C., on the S., and Rutherfordton, N. C., on the N; *f.* These lines must represent the headwaters of a fork of King's Creek, which flows southwest past King's mountain, and empties into Broad river. ·——·——·——· The lines laid down thus, show the routes of the four different American columns, as they came into action and followed out their plan of operations, covered by woods, except when they attempted to charge into the open, when they were invariably driven back into the timber, until the Royal forces became 'clubbed,' or slaughtered, like game in 'battue.' *A.* Colonel Shelby's corps; *B.* Colonel Campbell's corps; *C.* Colonel Sevier's; *D.* Major Winston's; *E.* Colonel Hambright's; *F.* Major Chronicle's; *G.* Colonel Cleveland's; *H.* Colonel Williams'; *I.* Major McDowell's; *J J.* British line, previous to being surrounded, from N.E. and S.W.; *K.* British troops, Loyalists and Loyal militia, ☞ no regulars, in confusion; *L L.* Length of British encampment —80 rods (1320 feet); *M.* Colonel Ferguson's grave; *N.* Rude monument to Colonel Chronicle—*the reverse side bears an inscription in memorial of Colonel* FERGUSON; *O.* Spot where Colonel Ferguson was killed."—For portrait of Capt. (local Col.) Abraham de Peyster, see Lyman C. Draper's "King's Mountain," opposite page 479.

great-uncle, by marriage, of the writer, Sir John Johnson, Knight and Baronet, was in chief command, and a great-uncle, by blood, second to him in the bloodiest battle for the numbers engaged at the North, Oriskany. In both cases the relations by blood were severely injured. Abraham de Peyster was knocked over by a rifle-bullet, which struck a doubloon in the flap pocket of his waistcoat, and Stephen Watts, besides other dangerous wounds, lost his leg. In neither battle were there any British regulars present, although Americans invariably assert it as a fact, that the unexceeded intrepidity at King's Mountain was displayed solely by British regulars. The men who did so well, were picked shots from Loyal New York and New Jersey Volunteer regiments, organized into a Provisional Corps for special service under the Colonel (local Brigad'r) known as Bulldog-Ferguson. The American story reads that about 900 American militia whipped over 1100 British Regulars and Loyal militia in a selected position. The truth is entirely to the contrary. At least 1500 picked mounted riflemen surrounded about 100 Northern Loyalists and 800 Southern Loyal militia, in a position most indefensible under the circumstances. The Americans were not able to stand one of the many charges made by the Loyalist Volunteers, but took to the trees, and from under cover, shot them down in the open clearing. Colonel Ferguson was not killed at the close of the engagement, but some time previous. His obituary, in the *Royal Gazette*, says, "early in the engagement." Captain (local Colonel) de Peyster fought it out, until so many of his immediate followers were killed, that he could not gather six unwounded men together. It was a slaughter, not a fight. To save the victimized Loyal militia, he surrendered, and when he was blamed for it, by those who knew nothing of the circumstances, he published a cartel, challenging any one who dared to blame him, which was never answered.*

* Reports of battles—especially since Bonaparte gave rise to the proverb, "To lie like a bulletin"—are nothing more than *special pleas*, the same as an adroit lawyer would prepare to make the best show of a case for his client. Never was there a better example of this than the report drawn up by the Rebel or Patriot colonels in regard to the Battle of King's Mountain, in which Captain (local Col.) Abraham de Peyster was, at the commencement, second, and towards the end chief in command. When the victors got back to Hillsborough, in North Carolina, Colonel Isaac Shelby admitted that the report made known, was drawn up some days after the victors left King's Mountain, expressly to fire the public heart—his words are, "to give tone to public report," that is, to make military capital, It was a doctored, calculated document, composed *apres coup*.—(See John Watts de Peyster's "Centennial Sketches" for 1880, LIV., New York *Evening Mail*, 28th December, 1880.)

History, as a rule, is either a pander, a strumpet, or a realization of what the Apostle terms "making a lie." It is true, in the vast majority of cases, only as regards results, paying little or no attention to causes; whereas results are inevitably dependent on causes, which causes are neglected, although those very causes contain the lessons which should be studied, to learn what is to be observed and what is to be avoided. No history is so pregnant with such lessons, as that of the United States, and, yet, as it is taught and learned, no history is so silent as to the underlying little springs which gradually, unobserved, trickling together to form rivulets, swelled into the vast stream which the ignorant assign to a sudden

This cartel, which was endorsed in the strongest language by Lieutenant Allaire, appeared in the British papers, in 1782, and copies of it obtained for the writer from the British Museum by the Hon. Isaac N. Arnold, President of the Chicago Historical Society. Colonel Abraham de Peyster, who was backed in his opinion by another distinguished Loyalist officer, Colonel Harris Cruger, told Colonel (local Brigadier-General) Ferguson, that he did not understand the adversaries with whom he had to deal; that exactly what did happen would occur; that these adversaries would get behind trees, and, without danger to themselves, shoot down his men; and that the bald top of King's Mountain was no place to accept such a fight; that it was a roost without shelter, liable to a concentric fire. All this proved true. Again, he urged Ferguson to fall back on supports, which were rapidly coming up to his relief; but, being utterly fearless and despising his adversaries, Ferguson would not listen to the wise counsels of de Peyster. Tarlton, equally bold, and like Ferguson underrating his opponents, blamed de Peyster, and, shortly afterwards, he experienced a like disaster by his headlong plunge into a similar trap, at the Cowpens.

The story of another great-uncle, James de Peyster, is too remarkable to be curtailed.

However unsuccessful the British campaigns in the Netherlands have proved, they were scarcely ever destitute of the glorious halo of British valor. Those, however, conducted by the Duke of York, seem such a choatic mass of blunders and stumbles that, destitute of form and void, their black broken surface, like that of the Mexican *pedrigal,* swallows up and absorbs the little light which suffered individual heroism to shed upon it.

One of these few gleams of success, almost immediately lost in the brooding clouds of defeat, was the attack upon the French lines, or post of *Lincelles*, near *Menin*, on the *Lys*, in *West Flanders*, on the *18th August, 1793*. Connected with this was a romantic episode, which exceeds, in the sadness of its features, the startling incidents of many of our sensation novels.

In the absence of detailed official reports, the story must rest on the authority of private letters and cotemporary history and magazines.*

One of the most prominent actors in this field, was JAMES DE PEYSTER. He was a Loyal American officer, born in 1757, of an old and prominent Dutch family, in the City of New York. Two of his brothers, Abraham and Frederic, had already been severely wounded in the service of the British crown, one shot through both thighs with a rifle-ball, which traversed and killed his horse: the other temporarily prostrated by a rifle-ball, which was intercepted by a doubloon in his vest pocket.

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flood. No such thing! The rains fell long, long ago; the earth absorbed them; the fountains gushed forth, and the freshet produced this nation. Nevertheless, not one in ten thousand studies the phenomena. They stand and wonder at the result; they are totally ignorant of, and blind to, the remote and misrepresented or rather falsified causes.

* *European Magazine*, vol. 24, 1793; *Foreign Intelligence*, 150–151, and other periodicals mentioned in subsequent notes.

CLXXXIII.

Full of hope and manly beauty, which were worthy the splendid uniform of his era and corps, he was, June 28th, 1786, First-Lieutenant in the British Artillery, and enjoyed the confidence and esteem of his brother officers and superiors. His letters, full of enthusiastic admiration of his service, are agreeable in their vivid descriptions of the mimic war upon Sydenham Common, England, which preceded the actual conflict on the plains of Belgium. One dated before he sailed with a large train of artillery, destined for the siege of Dunkirk, while full of ambitious hope, is not without a shadow of the presentiment of impending fate. Four months afterwards, having been meanwhile twice entombed alive, disinterred and resuscitated, he realized his forebodings on a victorious field, when the conduct of his corps won the approbation of his chiefs and the applause of their allies.

Under contract of marriage to a lady of fortune, he postponed his union until the close of the campaign, and passed from the transient endearments of love, to the lasting embrace of death. Such is often the soldier's destiny.

This officer—James de Peyster—had commenced his military career, in 1776, at the age of nineteen, as *Lieutenant* in Colonel Fanning's Fourth, or King's American Regiment,* and had been promoted to a CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANCY, when he was transferred, in 1780, to the Royal British Artillery, of which his brother-in-law, Thomas James, was Colonel-Commandant. In this transfer, he carried with him the testimonials of Colonel Fanning, in which he expresses his "esteem and regard" and "entire satisfaction of his conduct and behavior as an alert, attentive and good officer." To this Brigadier-General Small, who styled himself his "Military Father," added a long letter, full of the highest enconiums upon his bravery in the field, ambition, atten-

* It seems impossible for American writers, with very few exceptions, to do any justice to the Tories, or Loyalists. Almost everything narrated concerning them is a misrepresentation. Simms, in his "Life of Marion," page 203, states that "While (Colonel P.) Horry was skirmishing with [Lieutenant-Colonel] Campbell [commanding the British troops in the winter of 1781, Major John Postell, who was stationed to guard the lower part of the Pedee [S. C.], succeeded in capturing Captain [-Lieutenant] de Peyster with twenty-nine grenadiers. De Peyster had taken post in the dwelling-house of Postell's father. The latter had with him but twenty-eight militia; but he knew the grounds, and, gaining possession of the kitchen, fired it, and was preparing to burn the house also, when de Peyster submitted."

This is all very well as an American story; but the case is not honestly put. A court of inquiry was held in relation to this affair, and the writer has the proceedings. Captain de Peyster was not only acquitted of all blame, but received highly complimentary letters from the British General Small, as well as from his own Colonel, Fanning, King's American Regiment New York Loyalists. Major Postell, it is true, had only about twenty men *in front* of the house; but there were over seventy *in the rear*. Postell admitted that he had about one hundred men *immediately around* the house. This was proved before the Court by those sent out by de Peyster to reconnoitre, confer, &c. What is more, de Peyster was entirely abandoned by his supports; all his communications had been cut off, bridges destroyed, &c. Such is the trustworthiness of American versions. This is a similar case to that of King's Mountain, where numbers, position, circumstances, everything were in favor of the Americans.

tion, alacrity and professional attainments. Thus cheered with the approbation of his superiors, he embarked for a campaign, which seemed to promise an opportunity of still further distinguishing himself. In June–July, 1793, he found himself actively participating in the siege of Valenciennes.

This siege was remarkable, in that a greater portion than usual of the operations were subterranean. Mines and countermines innumerable were formed and sprung by both besiegers and besieged. On the 25th of July, 1793, the English sprung two large ones under the glacis and hornwork, whose immediate result was to enable them to establish themselves in the covered way. Among the foremost, as usual, *our hero was buried* by one of these explosions, and reported among the "missing." After a search of more than an hour, he was discovered in a state of partial stupefaction. Thus he may have been said to have been restored to his regiment after having been *buried alive.**

Three days afterwards, Valenciennes surrendered. A large share in this success was accorded to the British Artillery. The British now advanced and occupied a camp in the neighborhood of Menin, a fortified town of West Flanders, on the Lys. About five miles south of this place, and a little off the direct road to Lille, stands the hamlet of *Lincelles.* This village had been occupied by the Dutch, who were driven out by the much superior force of the French.

As soon as the English learned the reverse of their allies, they prepared to assist them and retake the post. Previous (the exact date is nowhere mentioned) to this, Lieutenant Redyard, also Lieutenant James de Peyster, and an Austrian engineer officer, had been sent out to reconnoitre. In the discharge of this dangerous but important duty, they approached too near the French works, when a mine was instantly sprung beneath them. The explosion killed the Austrian engineer, and so completely buried Lieutenant James de Peyster, that it is reported that nothing but the fringe of his sash remained visible above ground. This led to his rescue; for news of his disaster having been communicated to the British lines by Lieutenant Redyard, who escaped, a detachment was sent out, who found the spot, thus singularly designated by the protruding sash, and rescued him to his comrades and command.†

On the 18th August, three battalions of the English Guards, and detachments of the Royal Artillery, advanced to attack the French position. "The enemy occupied a redoubt of uncommon size and strength, upon a height adjoining to the high road, in front of the village of *Lincelles.* The road itself was defended by other works strongly palisadoed; woods and ditches covered

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* *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1793, vol. II. Obituary of considerable persons; with Biographical Anecdotes, pages 774–775.

† London Packet of Lloyd's *New Evening Post*, Wednesday, 14th, to Friday, 16th August, 1793. Examine in this connection, *Ibid.*, Wednesday, August 21st, to Friday, 23d, 1793; also, *Ibid.*, 26th August, 1793; and London papers about that same date.

their flanks. The battalions were instantly formed, and advanced, under a heavy fire, with an order and intrepidity for which no praise can be too high." *

The English were soon victorious over five times as numerous enemies, protected by very strong field-works. To overcome such difficulties demanded great sacrifices and still greater exertions; yet, "the fall of two gallant officers, and the brave men who have suffered on this occasion, must be a matter of regret."†

In the forepart of this glorious attack, and among the first who fell, was Lieutenant de Peyster. His second-cousin, likewise a Knickerbocker, *i. e.*, a native of New York City, was, at this date, a Lieutenant-Captain in the First Royal British Foot Guards, engaged upon this occasion. He subsequently obtained the command of that regiment, and rose to the rank of General.‡ While on a visit to his relatives in New York, he gave the following account of his kinsman's fate:

"While advancing with my company," said the General, "on the 18th August, 1793, I noticed a remarkably fine-looking dead officer, with his cocked hat slouched over his face, whom his men had raised up and fixed in an erect position, by taking advantage of the support afforded by the crotch of a small tree. Not being able to recognize him, for his chin had sunk down upon his chest, and his chapeau had been drawn down so as almost to cover his eyes, to keep it from falling off, I turned aside, and, lifting his head, removed the hat, discovering thereby, to my grief and horror, that it was my gallant cousin, James [de Peyster], who had been shot directly through the forehead."

Twice completely buried alive, by the explosion of a mine, or *a fougasse*, and twice rescued, as it were, from the depths of the grave itself, our hero's

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* *European Magazine*, 1793, vol. 24; Foreign Intelligence, page 150, col. I., *Ibid.*

† The two distinguished officers killed upon this glorious occasion, were Lieut.-Colonel Bosville, of the Coldstream Guards, and First Lieutenant James de Peyster (our hero), of the Royal Artillery. The remarkable incidents attending the fate of the latter, have been related. The fall of the former, is likewise attributable to an unusual circumstance.

"Colonel Bosville was one of the tallest officers in the three regiments of Guards; he was upwards of six feet three inches high, and, had he been but a few inches shorter, he would not have lost his life by the ball which deprived him of existence; for it grazed him on the upper part of the head, and carried that part of the skull entirely off.

"The much lamented Colonel Bosville and Lieutenant [de Peyster] were, on the 19th instant, buried in front of the lines at Menin, with every military honor. All the officers of the Brigade of Guards, and several of the Artillery Corps, attended the funeral. The scene was awful and distressing; for two men better beloved by the officers of the corps to which they belonged, or by the troops who were under their command, are not, perhaps, in the whole service. The heroes, who the day before were seen to face death with a smile, now wept over the remains of their gallant brother soldiers." [The *Royal Gazette* and *New Brunswick Advertiser*, vol. VIII., No. cccxcii., Tuesday, November 5th, 1793, quoting dispatches published at London, in August, 1793.

‡ This was Frederic Charles White, Captain-Lieutenant commanding Colonel's (Grenadier) Company, 1793; Colonel, 1st January, 1805; Major-General 25th July, 1810. His brother, John White, also a New Yorker, was an Admiral in the British Navy.

irrepresible ardor placed him in the forefront of the battle, when Death reclaimed him as a waif from the tomb, and bore him away back with him, sparing many less worthy to adorn society, or to do honor to the service of his King.

The writer's grandfather, Frederic de Peyster, commenced his military service, at the age of seventeen or eighteen, with the command of an independent company, the Nassau Blues, on Long (which was also known as Nassau) Island, raised for the protection of his uncle, Hon. William Axtell. He was afterwards Captain in the New York Volunteers, a corps which decided the battle of Eutaw Spring for the British. He was the favorite of Colonel Ferguson, who gave him his own rifle, a specimen of an invention which was the first breach-loading rifle ever used in line of battle. It was first brought into play at the Brandywine, 1777, when it astonished the American sharpshooters by its execution. This rifle is now in possession of the writer, and is the only perfect exemplar now known to be in existence.

The Loyalist Brigade, known as de Lancey's, commanded by Oliver,* of that *ilk*, brother of the writer's grandmother, was to have been armed with this improved weapon, invented in 1775, which was to the ordinary muzzle-loaders of the day what the newest breech-loader and magazine guns are to it.

Capt. Frederic de Peyster was badly wounded in the Carolinas, a rifle-bullet passing through both his thighs, while swimming a stream on horseback; according to tradition the same missile traversed the upper part of the body of the animal. His was one of the last British regiments occupying a military post in the Colonies, near Charleston, and at Foster's Meadow until 1783. He sailed

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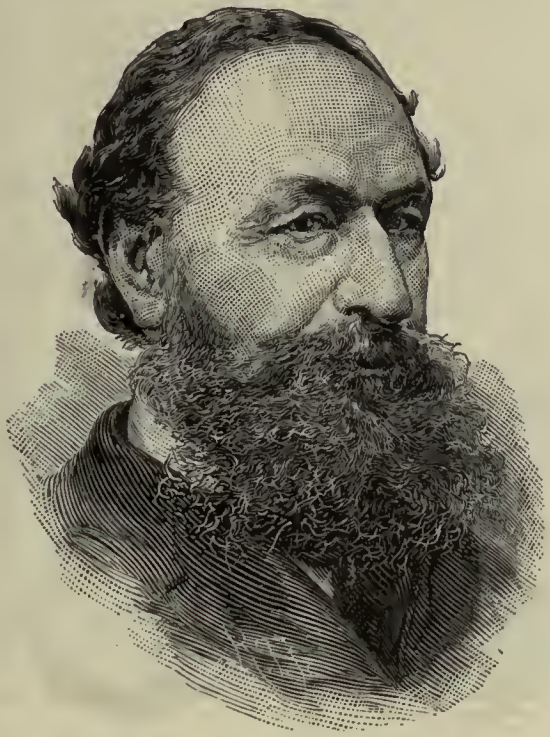
*Hon. John Watts, Senior, the writer's great-grandfather, married Ann, second daughter of Etienne (Stephen) de Lancey. Her elder sister married Sir Peter Warren, the British Admiral who took Louisburg. Her eldest brother, Oliver, soon rose to be Brigadier-General in the British Army. (See Holgate's "American Genealogy," pages 121 (4). For the de Lancey's of New York, see note xlix., vol. I., pages 649, &c., Thomas Jones' "History of New York during the Revolutionary War."

Oliver de Lancey, cousin of the writer's grandmother, Jane, son of Oliver, was a Captain of Dragoons in the regular service, in 1776. He soon became a Major, and then a Lieut.-Colonel, and, while the latter, was appointed to succeed Major Andre, after his execution, as Adjutant-General, October 9th, 1781. After this he became a Major-General and Deputy-Adjutant-General of England, and, in 1801, was made Lieutenant-General. He was appointed *Barrack-Master-General* of the British Empire, by the Hon. Wm. Pitt, in 1792. He was also Colonel of the Seventeenth Light Dragoons, and, in 1796, Member of Parliament for Maidstone. He died, in 1820, at Edinborough, one of the oldest generals in the British Army, and with him this branch of the family became extinct in the males.

Stephen de Lancey, son of Oliver, was a Lieutenant-Colonel of the New Jersey Volunteers during the Revolution; retired to England after the war, and was made Chief-Justice of the Bahamas, and afterwards, in 1797, Governor of Tobago and its dependencies.

Col. Sir Wm. Howe de Lancey was Deputy Quartermaster-General of the British Army, and belonged to Lord Wellington's staff, and was killed at the battle of Waterloo. Being struck by a spent ball, he was thrown from his horse, and died a few weeks after. See page 121 (7), Holgate's "American Genealogy." Albany, 1848.

with his command to New Brunswick, but subsequently, having returned to New York, married Helen, daughter of Com.-Gen. Hake, and settled, lived and died there. When the War of 1812 broke out, his eldest son, James F., at the age of 20, was already Captain in the Forty-second Regiment of U. S. Infantry. Robert Gilbert Livingston, next younger brother, had the honor of assisting Jacob Barker and Mrs. President Madison to save Stuart's picture of Washington from the British, when they took Washington, in 1814. The writer's father, Frederic, a younger brother again, at his death President of the N. Y. Historical Society, N. Y. Society Library, St. Nicholas Club, &c.,



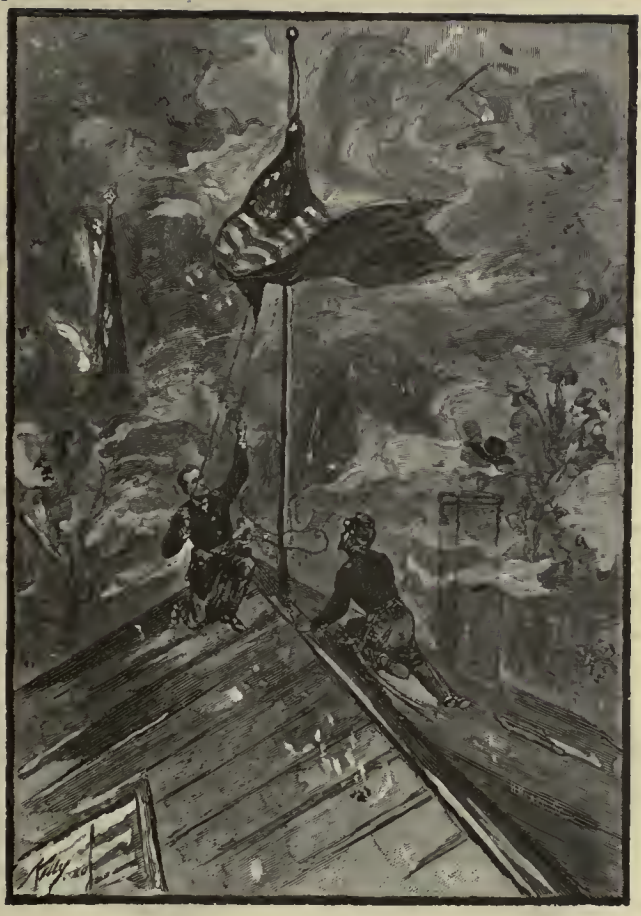
Frederic de Peyster

&c., was an officer of the "College Greens," composed of Columbia College students, and was injured laboring on the fortifications at MacGowan's Pass, at Mount St. Vincent, now in Central Park. As stated in the public prints at the time of his death, while this gentleman—Frederic de Peyster—never accepted a political position, yet, "he has probably been connected, as an active officer, with more social, literary and benevolent societies than any other New Yorker who ever lived." He was a lawyer by profession, a very distinguished Master in Chancery, before the abolition of that Court, and author of a number of historical works of enduring value. He was an example of "God's noblest work, an honest man," and a perfect specimen of the gentleman "all of the olden time."

To show that military taste abides in the blood, the cousin-german of the writer's mother, MARY JUSTINA WATTS, was Major-General Stephen Watts Kearny, the conqueror of New Mexico and California, and his own cousin, son of Susan Watts, Major-General Philip Kearny, the Bayard, or Murat—as deservedly styled—of the Army of the Potomac, whose statue is one of the two representing New Jersey in the National Capitol. Another cousin, John Watts Kearny, Major 11th New Jersey Volunteers (commanded by the writer's friend, then Colonel, now Brevet Major-Gen. Robert McAllister), was mortally wounded at Gettysburg. His colonel wrote that if he himself had not been shot, and Kearny immediately after, the rebel Barksdale's charge would have been stopped. Another cousin-german, Richard Varick de Peyster, son of Capt. Augustus de Peyster, a noted seaman, and prince among men, was desperately wounded in North Carolina, and lost his arm and life, subsequently, in consequence.

During the "Slaveholders' Rebellion," all three of the writer's sons were in the Union service, and brevetted for what they accomplished before they were men. The eldest, Major John Watts de Peyster, Jr., First New York Artillery, Brevet Colonel for Chancellorsville; the second, Second-Lieutenant Eighth N. Y. M., Frederic de Peyster, Major U. S. V., for gallantry at Bull Run I. (in 1861), and Colonel N. Y. V., for general gallant service. Both died in consequence of injuries received in discharge of duty. The youngest, Captain Johnston L. de Peyster, was brevetted Lieutenant-Colonel U. S. V., for hoisting the "*first* REAL *American* FLAG" over the Capitol of the captured Rebel capital, Richmond, 3th April, 1865, and Colonel N. Y. V., for general gallant and meritorious service during the war.

The writer's grandmother was Jane de Lancey, daughter of Peter de Lancey, of the Mills. How that family served their King needs only reference to the British Army List, the Annals of the Wars, and History. With the rank of Lieutenant-General, through every grade, down to Cornet, one or another, on the bloodiest fields, even at Waterloo, they fought, suffered or laid down their lives for the cause of the mother country, to which they had adhered. Amid hundreds of notable examples, one is worthy of special citation. When Rochambeau's French and Washington's Americans united in Westchester



Hoisting First Real American Flag over the Capitol of the captured Rebel Capital, Richmond, Monday, 3d April, 1865, by Lt.-Col. Johnston Livingston de Peyster, A.D C.

county, the first joint operation was an attempt (3-6 July, 1781) to wipe out the Loyal Mounted Regiment of the writer's great-uncle, Lieut.-Colonel James de Lancey,* known, on account of his daring and adventurous undertakings, as the "Outlaw of the Bronx." They failed, and, a few days afterwards, Colonel de Lancey ruffled the feathers of Washington, and beat up the quarters of his troops near Sing Sing. During the War of 1812–1815, the writer's blood relations were at the front on both sides. His mother's brother, Robert Watts, was Captain Forty-first U. S. Infantry. Another brother, George Watts (N. Y.), Third-Lieutenant Light Dragoons, 18th March, and Second-Lieutenant, August 1813, Aide-de-Camp to Brigadier-General Scott, 1814; Brevet *First-Lieutenant* for gallantry and distinguished service in battle of Chippawa, 5th July, 1814, August 14th); distinguished in Brown's sortie from Fort Erie; retained, May, 1815, in First Infantry; resigned, 15th January, 1816. He was a tall, lithe, very handsome man, but died very early of pulmonary disease. By his coolness and decision, as Lieutenant-General Scott described to the writer and others, George Watts, his Aide-de-Camp, saved him from the British and Indians, just before the Battle of Chippewa. Another cousin, Captain, subsequently Major, John Watts, son of Stephen, distinguished at Oriskany, was with Ross at the capture of Washington, in 1814, and with Packingham in the fights previous to, as well as at, New Orleans. He was afterwards Deputy Warden of Walmer Castle, one of the Cinque Ports, under the Duke of Wellington. Another cousin, Stephen Ross Watts, was Lieutenant (finally, a Post Captain) in the British Navy.

WATT (OR WATTS) FAMILY IN AMERICA.

The first of the name, who emigrated from Scotland to New York, was

1. Robert Watts, born about 1678, at Rose Hill, a grand old family mansion, within spacious gardens, *then* outside of the precincts of Edinburgh, *now* within the city limits, which was standing (although said to have been recently torn down) until within twenty years.

Its name survives in the neighboring "Rose Hill Crescent," or "Terrace." Robert's ancestor was John Watt of that *Ilk* (*i.e.*, *Rose Hill*), who is mentioned in "Burke's Peerage," edition of 1850, page 836, as Lord of Session. Robert Watt arrived in New York toward the close of the seventeenth century, married, about 1706, Mary, eldest daughter of William Nicoll, of the Manor of Islip, on Long Island, Secretary to the Colony or Pro-

* Hon. John Watts, Jr., married Jane, fourth daughter of Peter de Lancey, and Elizabeth Colden, daughter of Governor Colden. Her youngest sister, Susannah, married Colonel Thomas Barclay, British Consul in New York. Her younger brother, James de Lancey, was for many years High Sheriff of Westchester county, New York. At the commencement of the Revolution, he took command, as Colonel, of a regiment composed of Loyalist Refugees in Westchester county. At the termination of hostilities he retired to Nova Scotia (whither a large number of Loyalist families repaired at the commencement of, and after, the war), and resided in Halifax, where, in 1794, he was made a member of the Provincial Council. He died there in 1800.—See page 120, Holgate's "American Genealogy."

vince of New York, and died in New York, 21st September, 1750, aged about seventy-two years.

The expression "*about*" occurs so frequently in these Biographical References that it should be explained. Through repeated fires, exile, banishment and confiscation, nearly all the old family papers and heirlooms have perished. One thing, however, is noted among the few that escaped, that the first of the WATT family in America added an "S" to the name, which thus became WATTS, and the NICOLL family, to which his wife belonged, dropped the final "S," and thus became NICOLL. This ROBERT WATTS was a prominent and prosperous merchant, and a liberal and patriotic citizen. According to the de Peyster Annals, he was taken by the hand on his arrival by Colonel de Heer Abraham de Peyster, one of the first men in the Colony, next to the Governor in influence, command and authority, and in the enjoyment of great prosperity.

This ROBERT WATTS, the first in America, was very successful, not only in business, but in attaining the highest social standing, which is about the very best attest of his possession of great natural gifts and rights at a time when a prominent position depended most generally upon blood or court favor.

2. Hon. JOHN WATTS, Senior, his eldest son, was a man of very marked ability. His success in life seemed to be assured beyond peradventure. His opulence was noted, his ability conceded, his philanthropy felt. Among the charities, he was first President of the New York City Hospital; in civil administration, he was President of the King's Council in the Province or Colony of New York, and exerted great influence, partly due to himself and partly to the fact that he was brother-in-law to JAMES DE LANCEY, whom the greatest British Minister, Pitt, declared to possess an almost unexceeded capacity for government. The wife of this JOHN WATTS was ANN DE LANCEY, eldest daughter of ETIENNE (Stephen) de Lancey, and Ann, daughter of Stephanus van Courtlandt. This Hon. John Watts, Senior, experienced a very sad fate. From the height of prosperity, he was plunged into an abyss of misery. Political hatred drove him into exile, 4th May, 1775. Two months afterward, on the 3d July, 1775, his noble wife died of a broken heart. His estate was confiscated, and he died in exile, in Wales, 22d January, 1794, and was buried in St. James, Picadilly, London, England. Thus he died, respected by all honest people, far from home, family and friends, a victim to political rancor, and was buried like so many other victims for principle, in the Old Country. As was remarked to his brother-in-law, Lieut.-Gen. Oliver de Lancey, B. A., "there will scarcely be a village in England without some American dust in it, by the time we [exiled Loyalists] are all at rest."

His daughter, MARY, married Brigadier-General Sir John Johnson, Knight and Baronet, only son of the famous Sir William Johnson ("the Indian Tamer," victor in the battle of Lake George, 1755, and capturer of Fort Niagara, 1759): Sir John, like his father-in-law, John Watts (although in 1775 one of the two wealthiest men in the Colonies), died, cramped in means, far from his ancestral home, the "only Baronial Hall" in the Colonies). According to *Register*, St. James Church, Picadilly, London, Hon. John Watts, Sr., was buried there, 22d January, 1794. His sister-in-law, Susannah de Lancey, wife of Admiral Sir Peter Warren, had been laid to rest in the same, 19th January, 1793. His treatment by the successful party was one of the most striking instances of the atrocious cruelty and injustice of the Rebels or Patriots, or whatever they may be styled. He left New York in 1775, over a year before the Declaration of Independence, when, as yet, no one thought of declaring the colonies independent of the mother country, for the purpose of visiting his friends and relatives in England, which was no more of a crime than for a citizen of New York to sail around Cape Horn before the Panama and Union Pacific Railroads were built, to go to California for business or pleasure. Perhaps the Rebels feared his influence and judgment; for Mr. William Kelby, Assistant Librarian of the New York Historical Society, a perfect diamond-mine of information in regard to Revolutionary matters, in fact everything relating to the history of New York, says that the letters of this Mr. Watts to General Munckton contain the most perfect exhibit of the state of feeling and condition of affairs in the Province, just prior to the Revolution, of anything that has ever been published.

They were printed among the Aspinwall Papers, in Vols. IX. and X., 1871, of the "Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society." If there was any guilt in standing up for the government to which his family owed so much was guilt, he was not by any means as actively guilty as many who acted far more strongly against the Rebels, but knew how to carry water on both shoulders with dexterity. Judge Thomas Jones, in his "History of New York" (Vol. II., pages 268-271), demonstrates the cruel injustice meted out to Mr. Watts. He was not only the owner of a very large landed estate, but a man of opulence (Jones, I., 158) and of a disposition remarkable for the most unbounded hospitality. William Smith, likewise a Member of the King's Council, who, after the war, and when he was safe, gloried in his loyalty, they, the Rebel authorities, never noticed (Jones, I., 151). The same with regard to Mr. Cruger (Jones, I., 152, Note 1).

Henry Cruger, Esq., a warm opposer of rebellion, left New York with Mr. Watts, and went to England in the same packet, and was also there when the act passed. Yet, he was not considered as an "*adherer*" to the enemies of the State, nor was his person attainted or his estate confiscated. This has at least the appearance of partiality. A good reason may, however, be given for the indulgence allowed Mr. Cruger. He had a son in Parliament, and that son violent in the opposition to the American War. Nevertheless, John Harris Cruger, who married Ann de Lancey, cousin of the writer's grandmother, commanded the first Battalion of de Lancey's Loyalist Brigade, and was distinguished in a number of important engagements in the Southern Colonies. He is best known as the "hero of Fort Ninety-six," in South Carolina, for his successful defence of that post against Continental General Greene.

The persecution of the Loyalists by the Rebels or Patriot Fathers was always impartial with very few exceptions calculated, often most mean and cowardly.

Anne, another daughter of this Mr. Watts, became 11th Countess of Cassilis. The Editor, J. W. de P., has a very handsome, large colored solar photograph of her, thrown up from one taken from the original portrait in Colzean Castle, Scotland, which latter was sent to him by her grandson, Lord David Kennedy. It shows that she must have been a wonderfully graceful and handsome woman.

The city residence of Hon. John Watts, Senior, was on the north side of Pearl Street, east of Whitehall, and was one among the first to be consumed in the great fire of 1776. His country mansion was at Rose Hill, and the estate gave name to a large portion of the present Eighteenth Ward of the city of New York, of which it constituted the principal part. (See Note †, page clvi., *supra.*) The name long continued on signs, &c., to recall the original appellation of the district and Watts' Farm. Brig.-Gen., Brevet Major-Gen. John Watts de Peyster (N. Y.), now resides on lots embraced in the southerly portion of his great-grandfather's estate, on 21st Street (formerly Love Lane), near Fourth Avenue, which was purchased back from the Committee of Sequestration.

3. Hon. John Watts, Jr., second son of Hon. John Watts, Senior, was certainly the strongest man of the family. At the age of twenty-three, he was the last Royal Recorder of the City of New York, and after the Revolution he was First Judge of Westchester county, Speaker of the Assembly, New York State Legislature, Member of Congress, &c. His family connections in England held out the brightest prospects of human prosperity. His sister was Countess of Cassilis, and he represented her husband's large landed interests in this country; likewise those of Lord Abingdon, and of other relatives abroad. His eldest son, Robert, acknowledged to be the handsomest man in New York, was an officer of infantry in the War of 1812-15, and his youngest son, George, was a most distinguished officer of cavalry. Major-Gen. Winfield Scott repeatedly stated that, by his coolness and courage, George Watts saved his life from the Indians in the British service, just before the battle of Chippewa. But while most successful, and rapidly becoming one of the wealthiest men in the country, grief seemed to take possession of his home, and he became a monument of affliction. He and his wife, Jane, youngest daughter of Peter de Lancey of the Mills, and of Elizabeth Colden (married at Union Hill, Westchester county, N. Y., 2d October, 1775), had been hailed as the handsomest couple of their era. After bearing to him ten

children, this beloved partner died, and, one by one, his children followed, until, in his old age, he saw only one daughter (a very saint, Mrs. Elizabeth Watts Laight), herself childless, living, and he left behind him only three grandchildren: Philip Kearny, subsequently Major-General U.S.V., afterwards killed at Chantilly, 1st September, 1862; Susan Kearny, married Major Alexander Saranac Macomb, son of Major-General Alexander Macomb, Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. A., deceased, and John Watts de Peyster (the Editor of this work), only child of his youngest and favorite daughter, Mary Justina, married to Col. Frederic de Peyster, Jr.

Hon. John Watts (ad) retained his faculties to the last, dying 3d September, 1836, in his family mansion, No. 3 Broadway, N. Y., next door to No. 1, built by his brother-in-law, then Captain, Hon. Archibald Kennedy, afterwards 11th Earl of Cassilis. In his 86th year, he could ride on horseback as well as men in their prime, retained his vigor and beauty of face and figure, and walked to the last with the carriage and spring of an Indian. The precision of his mind was commensurate with his strength of body, and the former was such, that Hon. Samuel Ruggles was accustomed to declare that John Watts could present clearly, on a page of note paper, more than any *other* man that he *ever* knew could express with precision on a sheet of foolscap.

ERRATA AND OMISSIONS.

Unimportant and Obvious Typographical Errors not noticed.

In consequence of illness of the Editor, the examination of the greater part of these proofs was entrusted to employees supposed to be perfectly competent; one undoubtedly so, if he had chosen to give due attention to the duty. It was not until the publication was nearly complete that a number of errors were pointed out, which, although unimportant, should never have occurred in the work, which has cost so much labor and money. In justice, however, it must be noted that the manuscript of a number of the letters was very difficult to read, and some of the spelling obsolete.

Page 3. Text, first line, for "1874," read 1774.

Page 6, Note 8. "Big knives," "Long knives," origin, explanation, Butterfield's "Crawford's Expedition against Sandusky," pages 32–33.

Page 9, Note 4. "Pey." Can this be the "au Pie" mentioned in letter of 1st July, 1779, pages xxi. and xxii.

Page 20, Note 5. Brant's Indian name was Thayendanegea.

Page 28, fourth verse. "*Point au Tremble.*" "La Pointe aux Trembles" signifies Poplar or Aspen Point.

Page 32. ☞ The correction of "Spoken extempore" is to be found in OMISSION, foot of page 33.

Page 33. The old-fashioned words in Verses on a "Capricious Woman," &c., &c., "*wones*" ("Auld Rab Morris wons in yon glen"); "*stound*" (Aye, the stound, the deadly wound, Cam' frae her e'en sae bonny blue), &c., &c., are chiefly Scotch.—D. B.

Page 34. Line 1, verse 3. "Stound" does not mean a misfortune. It signifies a sharp and sudden surprise, as in preceding quotation, page 33. The *stound*, sudden surprise, at seeing her "bonny e'en sae blue," gave his heart a deadly wound. It is the root of astound, "to be astounded," astonished, "astonied;" as found in the Bible.—DOUGLAS BRYMNER.

Page 42. "The Drill Sergeant," verse 1, for line 3, as printed should read "Thumb muzzle height."

Page 54. For Monday evening, *21st*, read *12th*.

Page 55. Verse 2, line 5, omit "the."

Page 56. "Song," for "La Syhelle," read the "Sensible."

"On the 26th of June [1798], at 4 P. M., the British 38-gun frigate Seahorse, Captain Edward James Foote, cruising off the coast of Sicily, fell in with the French 36-gun frigate Sensible, Captain Bourdé. Being charged with despatches, and having the General of Division, Baraguay-d'Hilliers and his suite, with a quantity of valuables on board, which she had brought from Malta and was carrying to Toulon, the Sensible crowded sail to escape. The chase, the latter part of it a running fight, continued until 4 A. M. on the 27th, when, the island of Pantellaria, bearing west-north-west, distant twelve leagues, the Seahorse came up with the Sensible. A close action now commenced and continued for eight minutes; when the Sensible, having besides much damage in her masts and rigging, received several shot in her hull, thirty-six of them between wind and water, and sustained a severe loss in killed and wounded, hauled down her colours.

"The Seahorse, out of a complement, including some seamen belonging to the Culloden, of 292 men and boys, had 1 seaman and 1 drummer killed, her first-lieutenant (David Wilmot, slightly), 13 seamen, 1 corporal and 1 private of marines wounded. According to the British official account, the Sensible, out of a crew, including a few passengers, of 300, had 18 men killed, her first and second captains and 35 men wounded; but, according to the French accounts, the Sensible's loss amounted to 25 killed and 55 wounded.

"The fact that the Seahorse mounted 46 guns, consisting of long 18- and 9-pounders, and (14 it appears) 32-pounder carronades, and the Sensible 36 guns, consisting of long 12- and 6-pounders, and (4 we believe) brass 36-pounder carronades, renders it tolerably certain that, even had the French frigate been quite free to act on the offensive, the superiority of her opponent's force would have led to a defeat. The Sensible's heavy loss, too, proves that she did not surrender until she had felt the effects of that superiority; and yet the French Minister of Marine thus publicly notices the capture of the Sensible: 'It is time that the Navy should know, that it is not enough to justify the loss of a ship that it surrenders only to superior force; it is necessary that a long, an obstinate, and a terrible resistance should alleviate the sorrow of a defeat, and soften the regret of the Republic. The executive Directory will not suffer themselves to be seduced by any consideration repugnant to this determination, which I now communicate to you. It will give its confidence only to officers who shall deserve it by their talents and courage.' We think we could point out some instances of French captures to which this spirited denunciation more suitably applies than to the case of the Seahorse and Sensible.

"A better feeling, however, appears afterwards to have prevailed. General Baraguay-d'Hilliers succeeded in convincing the Directory that the French frigate had been bravely defended against a very superior force, and had been surrendered only when no other alternative remained. In consequence of this, a court-martial was ordered upon Captain Bourdé. It sat at Toulon, and honourably acquitted him. In this instance a clear exposition of the relative force of the ships, and a compliment to the behaviour of the weaker combatant, in the British official account, might have prevented the French directory from passing so unmerited a censure upon a brave officer."—"The Naval History of Great Britain," by W. James. London, 1837. Vol. II., pages 208, 209.

Page 57. Same Song, line 3. For "*Captain* Cook," read *Captain* Foote.

Page 58, Note 1. "*Writer*." The title usually given to lawyers in Scotland. Some years ago many of the junior members of the bar, not thinking the term dignified enough, wished it changed to Solicitor.

Page 66. "Verses." In addition to Notes on these lines elsewhere, pages lxxxvii.—lxxxviii., it may be as well to quote exactly what Taine does say on the subject of Bonaparte's morals, manners, misuse of power. "Sometimes the eruption [outburst of desire or temper] is so sudden that repression comes too late. One day, in Egypt, having several

French ladies to dinner, he had placed by his side a pretty woman whose husband he had just sent back to France. All at once he tips a water-bottle over her, as if in sheer heedlessness, and, under the pretence of drying her drenched gown, hurries her off with him into his bedroom: he stays there with her a long time, too long a time, while the rest of the guests, seated at table around the interrupted dinner, are waiting and staring at each other." Here we have a revival of the habits of Caligula, who had the excuse of insanity for much that he did. There is no need, however, of going back to the Romans. Peter the Great set an example of such lust flaming out like an "eruption," "transformation into act" of the idea or instinct. For Peter's "Samoedic," "Satyr-like" example see Carlyle's Frederic the Great, Vol. I., pages 346, 347, particularly the latter. As to Napoleon's brutality: "On another occasion, at Paris, about the time of the Concordat, he tells Senator Volney: 'France wants a religion.' Volney dryly and bluntly retorts, 'France wants the Bourbons.' Whereat Napoleon gives Volney such a kick in the stomach that the latter drops senseless, and is carried off to a friend's house, where he is ill in bed for several days." In the *Biographie Contemporaine*, page 153, Napoleon admits "he was charged with having taken the Pope by the hair." This very admission, to the writer, who heard an involuntary confession, in a similar case of abuse of power, exactly thus blurted out, is sufficient proof of the truth of the charge.

Count d'Herisson, in his "Le Cabinet Noir," 17th edition, Paris, 1887, remarks, 301: "The Emperor often forgot himself, often even so far as to proceed to acts of violence, and it was well known among the people of his household, that there was only one of his secretaries whom he had not kicked * * in one part of the body or another. Napoleon considered and declared that a man in his circumstances was above *all* law—all moral law included. Truth and he were utter strangers. He began by falsifying the date of his birth, and, at pages 123-126, Count d'Herisson corroborating Colonel Jung, establishes that Napoleon was born 7th January, 1768, not 15th August, 1769, the latter date being necessary to obtain his reception into the military school at Brienne. As to his morality, the Count cites testimony as to Napoleon's intimate relations with his sisters and daughter-in-law. It is hard to think that such a being, destitute of principle, as Bonaparte should have obtained such celebrity and retained it for nearly a century, in the face of the clearest revelations of the truth. It seems impossible to demonstrate to the m—asses, his undeserved apotheosis based on the falsest claims to it and, as it has been observed, the French actually selected for their despot the native of an island, the population of which the Romans did not think sufficiently valuable [even to be purchased or held?] as slaves."

And yet that supreme traitor to liberty and all that is good and true, in his "Aphorisms," page 90, is continually uttering such sentiments as this: "A sovereign is always wrong who speaks in anger." According to Schlosser, vii., 379, Bignon, who is disposed to worship Bonaparte as a demi-god, is obliged to confess that his hero "entirely lost his dignity, and forgot his position," and afterwards behaved in such a manner, that, as Schlosser justly remarks, his conduct was equivalent to considering it no harm "in giving a man a box on the ear if you only pat his head gently afterwards by way of soothing him."

In allusion to Markoff's interview, Thiers, iv., 433, remarks: "At the first diplomatic reception, he put the haughtiness (*morgue*) of M. de Markoff to as rough a trial as he had previously the stiffness of Lord Whitworth."

Page 69. In addition to Notes at pages lxxxix.—xciii., there are a number of other corroborations, circumstantial evidence, of the unwillingness of this general at 6,000 or 10,000 lives a day, as Kleber and Moreau said of him, to risk his reputation against the British, until compelled to do so at Waterloo. In C. W. Gifford's "Wars occasioned by the French Revolution," London, 1817, the statements and judgments of Mitchell and Lanfrey are shadowed forth at pages 632-642, where, on the latter it is observed, "His [Napoleon's] abrupt departure from Spain, where his presence was so necessary for carrying into complete execution his plan for subjugating the country," was justly considered "unexpected." Croly, in his "Life of George IV.," pages 264, 265, is very interesting. "Napoleon is said to have turned away [from the English] to easier triumphs," &c., &c. For "easier," read less

"dangerous and doubtful," and this is the exact truth of the situation. Twice, with victory in plain sight as the reward of determination—twice Napoleon turned back, as before Moore (see Alison's "Castlereagh," II., 52, 71). In the face of a peril of which the danger struck home to his perception, Napoleon always flunked. Seeley, in his "Napoleon the First," page 154, reads that Napoleon, after tremendous exertions to overtake Moore, when he was up with him (1st Jan., 1809), at Astorga, found "he had missed his mark, *and professed to receive information* which showed him he was urgently wanted at Paris. Notwithstanding this urgency, he was at Astorga, 1—2, at Benevente, 3—5, and he lingered ten days, 6—16th Jan., at Valladolid, which last ten days covers the dates when Sir John Moore offered battle to the French at Lugo, 6th January, and the day (13th) when the English reached Corunna and found that the fleet had not arrived. What chances of glory were here thrown away, if Napoleon did desire to measure ability with an opponent who he himself pronounced "the only general [Moore] fit to contend with himself [Napoleon], for he could neither surprise him into an error, nor with all his energetic speed overtake him on his [Moore's] masterly retreat." These are the words of Edwin Sidney, in his "Life of Lord Hill" (page 84), and he adds: "So that he [Napoleon] departed for his capital [Paris], foiled in his designs." According to Dolly's "Itineraire," Paris, 1842, "Napoleon was at Burgos, 18th January, and did not enter France until the 19th. What is more, Napoleon was still at Valladolid the very day, 16th January, on which Moore defeated Soult at Corunna," Hoefer, in his "Biography (French) of Sir John Moore" (p. 427), says: "The English army would have been probably taken or destroyed, if Napoleon had not abandoned the pursuit to return to France." Granting this, since Napoleon lingered in Spain a sufficiency of time to bring the matter to a conclusion, as Soult did in a defeat, what excuse had he to shirk doing what he boasted he would do?

Even Chauvinist Thiers, "Consulate and Empire," ix., 407, remarks of Napoleon's campaign against Sir John Moore, "Was it then determined that, always fortunate against coalesced Europe, we [French] were not to be once so against implacable England?" "Unfortunately Fortune, which had so often served Napoleon, would not afford him the satisfaction of capturing a whole English army" (409). "Arrived at Astorga * * he gave up the pursuit himself" (416). "They (English) had assuredly lost not a tittle (*rein*) of their military glory" (428). "The real misfortune at this point, the undeniable (*vraie*) was that he (Napoleon) did not himself, in person, follow up the English, obliging his lieutenants to unite to destroy them. But he was kept elsewhere by the irreparable mistake (*faute*) of his life, *i. e.*, of having undertaken too many enterprises at one and the same time; for, whilst he (Napoleon) *should not have failed to be at Lugo to crush the English*, he was called to Valladolid." Is not this language equivalent to saying, Napoleon should not have allowed anything to interfere with his pursuit of the English. Does not this remark of Thiers justify Mitchel, Lanfrey, everyone who snap their fingers at Napoleon, and say he shirked the encounter of those he hated most, and *feared to meet* to the diminishing of his influence and glory.

The idolization of Napoleon Bonaparte by the slavish and enslaved French, as related even by themselves, was almost equal to that which wears as amulets the dried excrements of the Thibetian Grand Llama; and the language used by the infatuated people, high and low, even by Church dignitaries, of and to him, was so wildly extravagant as to vibrate between insanity and blasphemy, and, at times, the unlimited servility, considering the enlightenment of the period, seemed to justify the terrible sarcasm of Swift in describing the conduct of the Yahoos towards their superiors, or chiefs, as described by Gulliver in his voyage to the land of the Houyhnhnms. The best or most honest biographies of Bonaparte are apocryphal as to his goodness and ability, and resemble the "Life of Washington" fabricated by Weems.

Page 72. Note 1 to the "The Saucy Naiad." The name of her commander, "Cateret," should read "Carteret."

Page 72, Note 3. For "Basti," read "Baste." In this connection, examine James' "Naval History," Vol. V., page 337, &c.

CXCVII.

Page 80. Verse 1, line 2. XERXES. It drives the worshippers of Napoleon wild to compare his invasion of Russia with "Twenty Nations" to that of Greece by the Persian monarch, and. with the example of Charles XII. before him, he acted with even greater madness, and in his sane moments seemed to realize the truth, observing, if he did fail, his conduct would be compared with that of Xerxes, as it has been by more than one celebrated historian, with the sarcastic remark that there *was* a difference; Xerxes made his escape from Greece in a fishing-boat (*Schiffchen*), and Bonaparte from Russia on a sledge (*Schlitten*). Montgaillard, vi., 405, says he did once imitate Xerxes, even as to the skiff "After the battle of Essling, the reputation of Napoleon, as general and man of resolution, is altered; for it is averred that Napoleon quitted the left [north] shore of the Danube at the moment when the danger was most imminent; that he threw himself into a skiff (*une mauvaise barque*) with Berthier and Czernickeff, aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia, to put himself under shelter on the right bank. The tenacity of Massena saved the wrecks of the army, which, during the night, effected their retreat into the Isle of Lobau Marshal Lannes, on learning of the passage of the Emperor from the left shore to the right, gave way to the most violent reproaches against him." Napoleon had a rule as to abandoning his army when in a tight place, and never hesitated to do so, knowing the stupid blind idolatry of the French for him would excuse all—from Egypt, 1799; from Spain, 1809; from Essling, 1809; from Russia, 1812; from Leipsic, 1813; from manhood, on the road to Elba, 1814; from Waterloo, 1815. "*Jupiter Scapin!*"

Page 80, Note 1. "Lady Canwath," should read "Carnwath."

Page i. In regard to Colonel de Peyster's pressing applications to be relieved or transferred. See "Michigan Pioneer Collections," ix., 386, 391, 394.

Page xxxii. P. S. at foot, for "Du Dindre," read "Du Quindre;" for "Le Clive," read "*Le Clerc;*" for "Cœur de Corps" (30), read "Cœur de Cerf Indians."

Page lxii. Supplement to Note *U*. The Americans stole across the Detroit, Niagara and St. Lawrence rivers, in fact along the whole frontier, robbed, plundered and destroyed property, just as they did in the Canadian Rebellion or Patriot's War of 1837.

Page lxxi., Letter No. IV. Foot of the Lake. Can this be "Bottom of the Lake," about thirty miles east of Sandusky, opposite Bare Point, on north shore?

Page xcv. Correction of Note to p. xxi., line 8, for "ARNVALLD" read "ARNVALLDR."

Page xci. Supplement to Note *, Loyalty. According to the proverb, *successful* treason is never treason, because "nothing succeeds like success," as Sir J. Harrington sang:

> "Treason doth never prosper: what's the reason?
> For if it prosper, none dare call it treason."

The Loyalty, or Toryism, of 1775–1776 was just as pure (if not more pure) as the Unionism of 1860–1861. The great stigma on the highly lauded Turenne was his violation of his soldierly oath and allegiance. It is most disgraceful to desert a cause in its darkest hour of difficulty and danger with the light of interest in the eye, as did so many in 1861. The Scottish Colonel (or General) Hepburn set an example how true men act in times of disaster, on the bloody field of Sweden's reverse, near Nuremberg. He had sworn he would never draw a sword again in the service of Gustaf Adolf. Nevertheless, when the king appealed to him, as the only one present capable of performing a desperate service, he did his duty like a man, at the risk of his life; but when everything was in order again, held to his original purpose and left the Swedish service.

True loyalty, concisely expressed, is to be found in the language addressed to King David by his faithful subordinate, ITTAI, whose name signifies "*near*," or "*timely*." Josephus tells us Ittai, the Gittite, *i. e.*, a native of Gath, a Philistine, was one of a people who constituted the Royal Body Guard after David had become King of Israel, and had commanded the six hundred heroes who had formed David's band during his wanderings in Judah, and had been with David at Gath. In the army organized by the king at Mahanaim, Ittai appears in command of a third part of the force, and (for the time at least) enjoying equal rank with Joab and Abishai. When David abandoned Jerusalem to escape

his evil son, the rebel Absalom, he besought Ittai, as a stranger and an exile, to leave him, and advised him not to attach himself to a doubtful cause. "And Ittai answered the King and said, '*As* the Lord liveth, and as my Lord the King liveth, surely in what place my Lord the King shall be, whether in death or life, even there also will thy servant be.'" (II. Samuel, xv., 21.)

Page xci. Supplement to Note, LOYALTY. "It [reverence] is fostered in that stage of political life when loyalty or reverence for the sovereign is the dominating passion, when an aristocracy, branching forth from the throne, spreads habits of deference and subordination through every village, when a revolutionary, a democratic, and a sceptical spirit are alike unknown. Every great change, either of belief or of circumstances, brings with it a change of emotions. The self-assertion of liberty, the levelling of democracy, the dissecting knife of criticism, the economical revolutions that reduce the relations of classes to simple contracts, the agglomeration of population, and the facilities of locomotion that sever so many ancient ties, are all incompatible with the type of virtue which existed before the power of tradition was broken, and when the chastity of faith was yet unstained."—"History of European Morals," by Wm. Edward Hartpole Lecky, Vol. I., page 142.

The destruction of documents belonging to the de Peyster family has been referred to hereinbefore, but one fact of interest was omitted. The Editor's grandfather, Frederic de Peyster, a captain in the British service for seven years or more, kept a Diary throughout the Revolutionary War, which was seen or examined by two of his sons, who died within a few years. That diary, now, cannot be found. It covered some of the most important years of the war, 1775-1782. The Editor owns an "Orderly Book" of one of the last Loyal British regiments on the soil of the United States, but, unfortunately, that portion relating to active hostilities at the juncture of which the fewest contemporaneous documents exist, has been mutilated. It may be published in connection with Part II. of this work, if health permits and opportunity presents itself, together with other valuable family documents.

Page xcix. Note to ¶ beginning "The historian Bancroft." When it was stated herein, on the authority of Major Duncan, author of the "History of the Royal Regiment of British Artillery," that Major James, of that corps, was in England when his residence, Vaux Hall, at the foot of Chambers street, near the North river, in New York, was destroyed by the mob; the Editor took it for granted that, since Major Duncan, before he published, had consulted Mr. William Kelby, Assistant Librarian New York Historical Society, a perfect fountain of truth in regard to American history, and a diamond mine as to facts of all kinds connected with the City of New York—that whatever Major Duncan printed in his book could not be otherwise than correct. It appears, however, according to the publications of the New York Historical Society for 1876, 1877 and 1881, that Major James *was* in New York; but those volumes exhibit even more brutality and violence on the part of the mob than has ever been shown in any history. What is more and worse, Major James could never get any redress for his wrongs. To repeat what has been averred herein again and again, a true history of the American Revolution has never been written. No American dares to do it. Even the English appear to be afraid to do it. They shrink from no falsehoods in favor of the Rebel South, but they handle the American Revolution with gloved hands. The fact is, their own hands are not clean in regard to the American Loyalists, and they shrink from the revelations of their own shortcomings, being well aware what a miserable set were sent over to manage the war, who threw away their best cards as fast as they were dealt to them by Fortune.

Page clxxxi. Supplement to Note *, CAUSE AND EFFECT. "HISTORY would be at best a barren study, were it confined entirely to the recital of facts. It is not the plunder of a town, or the passage of a river, which are interesting in the eyes of posterity, but the consequence produced by such events, with respect to the general balance of power."—Naylor's "History of Germany," Vol. III., page 646.

"Great *political* REVOLUTIONS scarcely ever take place, without being previously prepared by a corresponding change in the habits and opinions of men. ☞ They do not resemble earthquakes and volcanoes, which swallow up cities by a sudden explosion, but

act with progressive effect, like the silent stream, which gradually undermines the lofty bank, till its ruin is entirely completed."—Naylor's "History of Germany," Vol. III., page 647.

Page cix. For "atrocious murders of inoffensive Indians," see Supplement "Life of Captain Cresap," 145.

Page cxi. For contemporaneous account or report of St. Leger's Campaign and Sir John Johnson's Battle of Oriskany, see Colonial Documents published by the State of New York, Vol. VIII., pages 718–723, &c.

Page cxvi. Colonel van Cortlandt was grandson of Philip van Cortlandt and Catherine de Peyster, daughter of Col. de Heer Abraham (1) de Peyster. See page clxviii. It is stated in the van Cortlandt Genealogy, that the line of the Loyal Colonel van Cortlandt, buried at Hailsham, Sussex county, England, was extinct in the male line. If so, who was the GENERAL VAN CORTLANDT who commanded a Patan force in India, in 1847, mentioned by Col. G. B. Malleson, in his "Decisive Battles of India," page 418.

Page cxix. For facts in regard to the Sullivan Campaign, consult letters of Sir John and Col. Guy Johnson, in "Documents relating to Colonial History," Vol. VIII.; also, "Journal of Lieut. Tjerck Beekman," 1779; *Magazine of American History* for August, 1888. According to the last, Butler and Brant in command [only] of 600 whites and 300 Indians at Elmira (page 128). The Americans showed their savagery in their brutally skinning Indians' legs for boot-tops, &c. (1), page 156.

Page cxxvi. Page xxvii., Note (22). The Chevalier de Lorimier was an Indian interpreter, according to "Documents relating to the Colonial History S. N. Y.," viii., 776–778. In Vol. IX., 568, M. Lorimier commanded a company. For M. de Lorimier, see x., 608–620, 673, 705, 1086. Consult Index Volume. In the advance or attack on St. John, in September, 1775, 1000 Americans, under Schuyler and Montgomery, were stopped by a band of savages, or Indians, led by the *brothers* LORIMIER. Compare Bell's Translation of Garneau's "History of Canada," (de Peyster Alcove), N. Y. Soc. Library.

Page cxxvi. LITTLE WAR. "Instead of concentrating his forces for the recovery of the Netherlands, in conformity to the sagacious counsel of Spinola, the vanity of Philip—for the motive by which he was impelled deserves not the elevated title of ambition—induced him to render all his efforts abortive, *by multiplying the objects of attack*. WHILE every attempt to enrich himself with the spoils of the Palatine had been frustrated by the vigilance of Oxenstiern, and France, in conjunction with the Duchess of Savoy, had impeded his progress in Italy, the Dutch established their power on so solid a foundation, that they were enabled every year to enlarge the republic by additional conquests."—Naylor.

ROAD TO SUCCESS. As de Goncourt writes, "One of the quickest ways to get ahead n the world, is to climb up on the footboard (behind the carriage) of success. It is true there is danger of getting bespattered with mud and of getting whaled over the shoulders with the coachman's whip, but you reach [with the vehicle] your destination like the footman" [who clings on behind].

Page cxxviii. "The *same moderate limitation* [of *objective*] was displayed by the German military authorities when, in 1870–71, during the siege of Paris, they stopped the extension of the *offensive* in the French provinces, in order, before doing anything else, to subdue the capital, and to make perfectly sure of their success. "The general circumstances of the case render it necessary only to continue the pursuit of the enemy after a victory as far as is requisite for the purpose of crushing his troops generally, and making it impossible for them to reconcentrate for a long time to come. We cannot pursue him into his last strongholds, such as Lille, Havre and Bourges; we cannot wish to hold for any length of time distant provinces, such as Normandy, Brittany or Vendée; but WE MUST DETERMINE EVEN TO EVACUATE PLACES *that we have taken*, such as Dieppe, and eventually Tours also, in order to be able to concentrate our main forces upon a *few principal positions*." Thus at that time did the directions from headquarters run. [☞ This is exactly the principle laid down in the letter of Gen. J. W. de P. to President Lincoln before Gettysburg [30th June, 1863. ☜] "*The Nation in Arms*." Translated from the German of Lieut.-Col. Baron von der Goltz. London, 1887. Pages 319, 320.

Page cxlviii. Gen. Cullum, in his "War of 1812-'15," p. 282, says that the British "ex-

pected ransom" or prize money. Brandschatzen: Ransom for remission or exemption rom plunder and destruction, is a rule or privilege of war perfectly understood in Europe. Such fines on captured places were levied even by Gustaf Adolf, and his pupils, Gustaf Horn and Leonard Torstenson, who most resembled him in forbearance. The first is said to have carried on war as a Christian; the second to have divested war of its horrors; and the third to have humanized troops brutalized by years of almost unrestrained license. Among numberless instances of how Napoleon Bonaparte and his satraps acted under circumstances similar to those of Ross at Washington: Honhentweil, in Wirtenberg, near the Lake of Constance, a *virgin* fortress throughout the Thirty Years' War, having been surrendered under a solemn engagement that the unconquered fortress and magnificent pile should be given back to Wirtemberg at the close of the war between France and Austria, by an action of "atrocious bad faith," Napoleon sent special orders that the works should be dismantled and destroyed. For six months, from October, 1800, until March, 1801, the French engineers mined and blew up, until they left Honhentweil the ruin that travelers grieve to find it.

Page clii. Supplement to Note *Y*, page lxii. There is no doubt that brave troops are sometimes noisy, for instance the Southern Rebels during the "Slaveholders' Rebellion." This was particularly so with those from States west of the Alleghanies. It was a matter of pride to be styled "a good yelling regiment." They undoubtedly learned this from the Indians. James R. Gilmore, in "The Advance Guard of Western Civilization," New York, 1888, mentions (page 19) the "Tennessee yell they had learned of Sevier," who was one of the Confederate colonels at the Battle of King's Mountain, 7th October, 1780. When Captain de Peyster, second in command, heard the almost deafening yells of the assailants, he told his commander, Colonel Ferguson, that he recognized "the damned yelling boys" of another Colonel, Shelby. Lyman C. Draper, in his "King's Mountain" (page 247), says "the mountaineers raised the Indian war-whoop and rushed upon the foe." Unquestionably these yells were an imitation of the war-whoop. Colonel Campbell, at King's Mountain, led off with the order, "Shout like hell and fight like devils." They generally did both, in EVERY sense of the word.

Joshua was a great general. He demonstrated this in more than one campaign. He said (vi., 10): "Ye shall not shout, nor make any noise with your voice, neither shall *any* word proceed out of your mouth, until the day I bid you shout; then shall ye shout." Before brave, steady Saxon troops all the yelling in the world amounts to little more than to excite contempt, as French writers admit in regard to the fighting of the French and English in Spain. The French shouted themselves hoarse while charging; the English, as a rule, were absolutely silent and always successful.

Page clvii. ¶¶ beginning "JOHN WATTS" and "John Watt," should read "JOHN WATT, first *John* in America [why his father Robert added an 'S' to his name is not known], called his summer place, near New York, Rose Hill (†) after a small country-seat and fine mansion house near, now within the limits of, the city of Edinburgh, Scotland, owned by his grandfather, JOHN WATT, who [this last John, in Scotland] had three sons and two daughters."

Page clx. Last line. Read in connection with "General Jackson's Campaigns":

NOTE.—An English gentleman, of rare attainments and judgment, pronounced General JACKSON as great an instinctive soldier, as any of whom he had *ever* read, and declared that his determination to march out and surprise the British veterans, fresh from their victories over the lieutenants of Napoleon, on the night of the 23d of December, 1814, one of the most brilliant lightning flashes of original genius or intuitive generalship. The Editor had a cousin, a captain in the British army before New Orleans, who dwelt with astonishment upon this bold stroke of Jackson. He was awakened by the clatter of his camp-kettle, cut loose by an American shot, which dropped upon him, asleep, not dreaming that any enemy was at hand, or, even if so, would dare to make such an audacious assault upon the Iron Duke's "old fire-eaters" of the Spanish peninsula. He considered it a positive marvel, that an almost improvised general, with an almost improvised force, should have dared thus to fall by night upon a camp of experienced soldiers. Full justice has only and just been done to this sagacious audacity, by General Cullum, in his "Campaigns and Engineers of the War of 1812–15."

It may not be out of place to remark, in connection, that this British captain, who had been at the capture of Washington, did full justice to the individual courage and patriotism of the Americans. The fault, as General Cullum shows, was not with the rank and file, but with the miserable political demagogues who misgoverned the country and misdirected its armed force, and with the miserable superannuated old grannies, miscalled generals, who did all they could to neutralize the mental gifts and intrepid spirit of their younger subordinates.

Page clxxxiii. Supplement to Note *. "Stories of the Revolution, on the American side, untrustworthy." "Indeed, whoever has talked much with *Revolutionary pensioners* knows that those honored veterans were *no less remarkable for* IMAGINATION *than for patriotism*. It should seem that there is, perhaps, nothing on which so little reliance is to be placed as facts, especially when related by one who saw them. It is no slight help to our charity to recollect that, *in disputable matters, every man sees according to his prejudices, and is stone-blind to whatever he did not expect or did not mean to see.* Even where no personal bias can be suspected, contemporary and popular evidence is to be taken with great caution, so exceedingly careless are men as to exact truth, and such poor observers, for the most part, of what goes on under their eyes."—"Political Essays," by James Russell Lowell. Boston and New York, 1888, page 119.

In summing up omissions, &c., my warm thanks must be given, for several courtesies, to Mr. William McDowall, of the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, who, "when a boy of six years or so," witnessed "the funeral procession of Colonel de Peyster as it defiled from his town residence (I think) to the place of graves." He sent out to the Editor photographs of the Colonel's tomb and memoranda of interest, and obtained for this work a very pretty pen sketch of Mavis Grove, near Dumfries, the residence of Colonel A. S. de Peyster, which appears in these pages.

Consult, in addition to authorities already cited:

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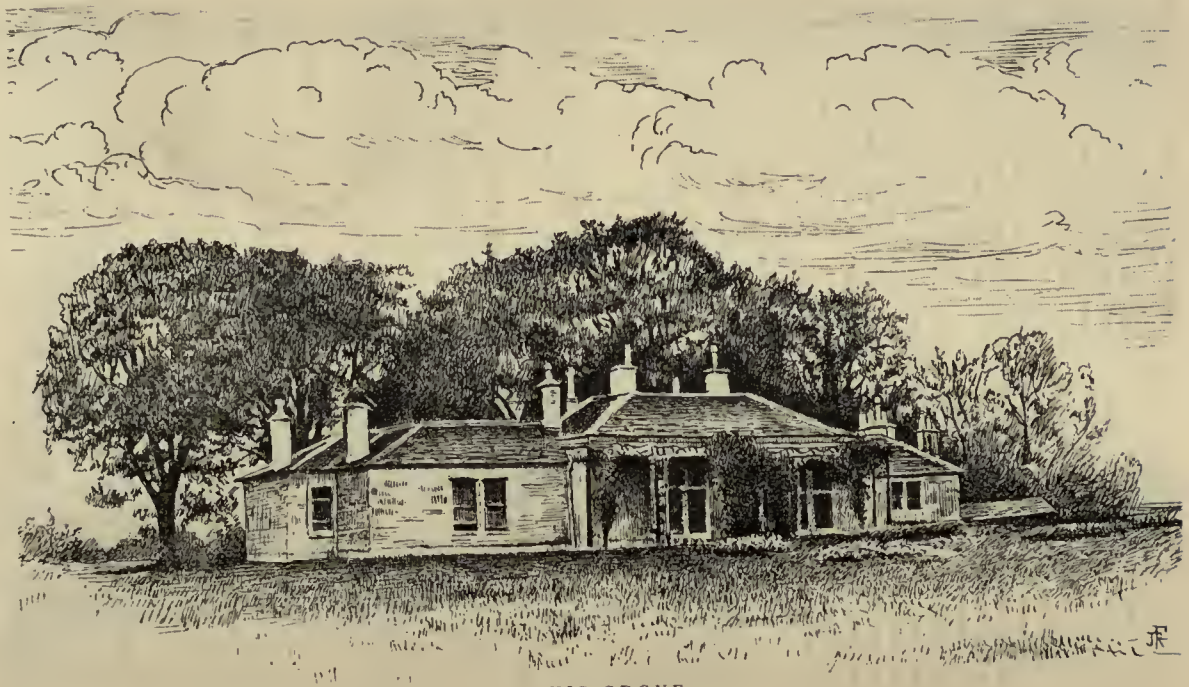

MAVIS GROVE,
(NEAR DUMFRIES).
Residence of Col. Arent Schuyler de Peyster, B.A

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ADDENDA.

The Editor cannot refuse himself the justice to repeat and *emphasize* that he has been so unwell during the progress of this book, and so worried about illnesses in his family, that he was unable to digest his notes satisfactorily, and those on whom he relied were "Pharaoh's reeds." So, being anxious to complete it, and not being able to find any one sufficiently acquainted with the subject or generally competent to assist him, he resolved to publish without that revision which would otherwise have been made.

Page cxciii.; page 9, Note (4), second line For xxi. and xxii., read lxxi. and lxxiii.

At page clxxii., concluding paragraph, some remarks are made in regard to the reasons for organizing such military corps as Colonel de Peyster commanded at Dumfries. Application was made to gentlemen of historical research in Scotland, in this connection, but without obtaining information. Subsequently, in prosecuting the investigation, it appears from the Parliamentary Reports, cited in the *Gentlemen's Magazine*, for 1794, Part II., that Volunteer Companies, "during the last war" [*i. e.*, preceding the Peace at Versailles, 1783 (?)], were raised for *internal defence;* that is, as stated by the Editor, *as adjuncts to the police;* and for that purpose a bill was proposed in the House of Lords, 6th March, 1794 (see page 629); again, 726–7; again, 819; again, 822, a Volunteer Bill read third time in the House of Commons, 7th April, 1794; again, 916–17; in regard to Militia, 1190.

Robert Macfarlan, in his George III., iv., 437–8, 1794, states "the British army with its various augmentations by Independent Companies (see page clvii., line 9, *supra*), Fencible regiments, bodies of VOLUNTEERS and additional Artillerists, constituted a total of 140,000 men."

Page clxxxvi. Text, last line above Note. "FOSTER'S MEADOW" is in Hempstead, Long Island. The railroad station for Far Rockaway is on the meadow. Thompson's "Long Island" reads, "Foster's Meadow, so called, is a large but scattered settlement in the western part of the town [of Hempstead], the soil of which was purchased as early as 1647, by Thomas and Christopher Foster, who were among the first planters of Hempstead. A considerable stream of water, commencing on the south side of the plains, at that period discharged its contents into the bay below; but, at this time, little more than the bed of the river is perceptible."

Page cxc. Line 4, "Outlaw of the Bronx." To corroborate Lauzun's opinion—that Clinton neglected several opportunities to seriously damage the allied forces and frustrate their movement on Yorktown—it is simply necessary to state that, even after the junction of the American army and the French forces under Rochambeau, both Washington's *first* and *second* offensive designs failed. The *first* was an attempt to crush the great loyal partisan. Col. JAMES DE LANCEY, "the Outlaw of the Bronx," "the terror of the region." The Continental Major-General Heath, who was left by Washington when he moved off towards Virginia to menace New York, in his "Memoirs" compliments DE LANCEY for his activity (30, 10, 81), and admits that on the 4th of August, while the allies were encamped at Phillipsburg, de Lancey's corps ventured as far above Kingsbridge as Phillips (Yonkers). This demonstrates what activity on the part of Clinton might have accomplished. That is to say, to use a military expression, de Lancey *insulted* the allies. So much for audacity, activity and energy. Like qualities in Clinton would have frustrated the entire movement from Westchester county across the Hudson and Delaware to Philadelphia.

The only great general that the English had in the field in America, was "the great," "the good and gallant" Cornwallis.—J. W. de P.'s "Centennial Sketches for 1881, connected with the Revolutionary War," No. X., N. Y. *Evening Mail*, 5th October, 1881.

Page cci. Mr. WILLIAM MCDOWALL—alluded to on that page—editor of the *Dumfries and Galloway Standard*, died at 17 Creswell Terrace, Dumfries, 28th October, 1888. In recording his decease, the Editor repeats an acknowledgment of his courtesies.

other. Such were the results of the third operation, as agreed upon between General Braddock and the Governors of the different Provinces to be attempted this campaign."

In the same way the author does full justice to Sir William Johnson, Bart, for his capture of Fort Niagara in 1759. "The Niagara Expedition, it has already been stated, was entrusted to the care of General Prideaux. On the 20th May, General Amherst detached this officer from his army with three battalions of the King's troops, two of New York Provincials, and a corps of Indians for this operation. General Prideaux moved to Oswego, by the Mohawk River and the Oneida Lake, as had been done, on a former occasion by General Shirley, and latterly by Colonel Bradstreet. At Oswego, he left a detatchment, under Colonel Haldimand, to secure this point, so highly important to him, as the means of communicating with General Amherst, and the only place to which he could retreat in case of reverse, or by which reinforcements or stores could be forwarded to him. Having collected craft and batteau, he embarked at Oswego, on Lake Ontario, on the 1st July; and keeping along the southern shore of the lake, he disembarked within six miles of the Fort of Niagara, on the evening of the 4th, having rowed about 120 miles. He caused the Fort immediately to be invested. General Prideaux was, unfortunately for himself, killed on the 19th July, by the accidental explosion of one of his own shells. The command devolved on Sir William Johnson, the same officer who had conducted the operations at the head of Lake Champlain in 1755 with so much vigour and good sense. He continued to press the siege of the Fort; the French collected the garrisons of the three small Forts of Presqu'isle, Venango, and Le Boeuf, already alluded to as keeping up the communication between Lake Erie and Fort Duquesne, and added such troops as could be spared from their post at Detroit, between Lake St. Clair and Lake Erie. A body of Indians was joined to his little army and the whole advanced on the 24th July to the relief of Fort Niagara. Sir William Johnson, leaving a detatchment in his batteries, moved forward to meet the enemy. He drove back the French Indians, with a body of Indians attached to his corps; and, having pushed his allies forward so as to turn the left flank of the French line, he caused his regular troops to advance to the attack, and gained a very decided victory. Fort Niagara surrendered the next day by capitulation. The garrison consisted of 600 men. During the attack upon Fort Niagara, a party, consisting of 1,600 French and Canadian troops, crossed Lake Ontario from Frontinac (Kingston) and endeavored to surprise Colonel Haldimand at Oswego. They were, however, repulsed, and retreated across the Lake, having suffered some loss."

Sir William Johnson's only son, afterwards Sir John, is said to have been, while between the ages of 13 and 17, with his father in both campaigns of 1755 and 1759, and to have accompanied his parent in his visits to Detroit and the farthest Western Posts after their surrender to the English by the French in 1761; by Treaty 3d November, 1762—10th February, 1763. Silas Farmer, in his exhaustive History of Detroit, says Sir William Johnson had his son Sir John with him when he visited Detroit on a tour of inspection in 1761.

In regard to the Capture of Quebec, 1759, General Carmichael-Smyth does away with all the romance with which it is encrusted, so that the facts of that campaign are scarcely recognizable in his simple soldierly exposition. He observes: "The arrangements for this [Wolfe's] attack at Montmorenci cannot be said to reflect much credit on those concerned in directing them." The clambering up the bluff which placed the British forces on the Plains of Abraham is likewise denuded of all its reported difficulties. "A small cove, about a mile and a half from the town, was the point selected for the attempt, which was decided to be made at night. The banks of the river at the cove are 250 feet high, and nearly precipitous. A winding path led from the plain above to the head of the cove, capable of allowing about four abreast to advance. The country carts do at present go up and down this path, and our modern artillery would think nothing of taking a brigade of nine-pounders, without dismounting the drivers, up the road as it actually exists. The difficulties of the ascent could not, therefore, have been so great as has been represented. The enterprize was sufficiently perilous and required no uncommon share of firmness and decision to bring to a happy issue without seeking to surround it by more dangers than actually attended it. The British army effected their disembarkation at this cove, now known by the name of Wolfe's Cove, on the night of the 12th September. The first brigade which landed ascended the height, repulsed a French piquet and took possession of a redoubt, and also of a four-gun battery, which the Marquis de Montcalm had ordered to be constructed for the defence of this landing place."

Gen. C.-S. blames severely the campaign as made by Burgoyne, and corroborates all that the Editor has written and published in condemnation of that commander, who, by his absolute bull-dog obtuseness, threw away the game and was the real author, by his want of generalship, of American Independence.

Passing over other observations, which, however worthy of attention, are not of sufficient importance for quotation, the story is brought down to 1812. General Carmichael-Smyth justly remarks: "It was the wish and intention of France to embroil us [the British], if possible, with the Americans. The leading members of the American Government had, already, an angry feeling towards England, and were anxious for a

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